

# V O X M I L I T I S:

FORESHEWING WHAT PERILS  
ARE PROCURED WHERE THE  
people of this, or any other kingdome liue  
without regard of Marshall discipline, especially  
when they stand and behold their friends in appa-  
rent danger, and almost subuerted by there enemies  
vniust persecution, and yet with hold their hel-  
ping hand and assistance.

Diuided into two parts, the first manifesting for  
II causes Princes may enter into warre, and how neces-  
sary and vsuall it is, drawne from the actions of the  
Prince of Orange. The second discourseth of warre,  
souldiers, and the time when it is conuenient:  
*collected out of the heroicall examples of*  
COUNT MANSFIELD.

Where, as in a mirrour, meet to be perused by Kings, Princes,  
Nobles, Knights, Gentlemen, and men of all degrees throughout  
the whole kingdome, to behold with what consideration  
they should first enter into the warre, with what cou-  
rage they should prosecute them, and how to deale  
with a common Enemy.

*Dedicated to Count Mansfield, and the honourable Councell  
of Warre.*

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sold at his shop in Popes head Alley, ouer against the signe  
of the Horse-shoe. 1625.





# ILLVSTRISSIMO

HONORATISSIMO NOBILISSIMOQUE DOMINO ERNESTO

*Mansfieldiæ*, Comiti, Marchioni Castellii noui & maximi exercitus Duci, &c.



LLVSTRISSIME

Princeps ( vere non blande sic te appellem) qui tam virtutum quam rerum polles claritate, ac re militari tum Marte vt aiunt, tum Mercurio longe superas,

quem natura non tanquam dura Nouerca, quin potius Charamater, non solum bello Strenuum at consilio sapientem constituit, vt prius timorem posterius temeritatem abs te ferret, ac certe vtrum mens an manus sit fortior dictu difficillimum videtur: Neque quid miri dignitati tuæ sit, qua causa ductus hoc opus aut potius opusculum bellicosum tibi potissimum dedicarem? quandoquidem tu dignissimus Miles (pene dixissem militum Atlas) merito habearis: qui sicut alter Hercules vsur-

## EPISTOLA

pantes ac in alienas possessiones ruentes Tyrannos pia mente & potenti manu penitus euertere conaris. Quis igitur melior de bello tractatus Patronus? quam qui in bello tractat, quis maior amicus erit libro cuius subiectum bellum quam ipse vir qui est subiectum belli? Preterea sicut armis, sic etiam artibus semper non parum benevolentiae ostendisti, & musarum seruis non solum amicus amictus victus, sed etiam ipsa vita, ab ineunte fuisti ætate, deinde quam gratus plerisque Britanniae accessus tuus est ex eorum oculis & vultibus qui sunt indices animi facillime colligas, inter quos ego mediocre non concipiens gaudium ac nihil habens, quo aduentum tuum gratuler nisi hos ingenij mei & laboris fructus quos honori tuo consecro: parum dubitans immo confidenter sperans quod sicut ex amore more & officio sunt supra Altare, plusquam humanæ bonitatis tuæ impositi. Sic erunt tanquam gratum sacrificium accepti, & sereno accipies & aspicias fronte, in quibus legitimum immo necessarium belli vsum militum varios iniquos tum equos mores, similiter tempus ad bellum gerendum opportunum, & militaris disciplinae exercitium cernas.

Quæ si perleges parum pertimesco, (si modo  
Phi-



## DEDICATORIA.

sine Philautia dicam) quin ex hoc officioso opere a me tibi oblato, non minus vtilitatis quam voluptatis capies: exoptans itaq; dignitati tuæ summam (aut si quæ summa sit superior) felicitatem in conscientia pacem in bello victoriam, vtcunque internam, externam, & æternam valetudinem in omne æuum maneo.

Tuarum virtutum observantissimus,  
G. M.

TO THE RIGHT HONORABLE  
and noble fauourer of all Vertue and Learning,

OLIVER, Viscount *Grandison*, One of the  
*Councell of warre in Great*

BRITAIN.

**R**IGHT Honourable, and truly Noble, as well famous for all vertues in generall, as valour in particular: There is no worke can be so worthy, but in this mimike and Splenslike age, it is ready euery moment to be rackt vpon the racke of a harsh censure, but most especially such as write any thing in the defence of those so much persecuted professions, as the Scholler and the Souldier, the which though none pittie them for their pouerty, yet most men enuy for their worth the one, because they can not attaine vnto it: The other, because they dare not bee of it, it is not then to be hoped for: But this my Treatise will meete with many calumnies, and the voyce of the Souldier will haue many foggy misty vapour, which breath proceeding from malicious mouths, will seeke to preuent the passage of it: the couetous Carle, who makes his gold his god, cries out against it, and cannot endure so much as the Eccho of it, he sayes it is so chargeable, and he had rather indanger his person, then indamage his purse: Another is so loath to leaue his Mistresse to find out honour, that the very voyce seemes to him as thunder, and he cannot suffer it; another hath bathed himselfe so long in the sun-shine of peace, as this storme goes to the heart of him, in so much as these my labours are like to encounter with many aduersaries, and this Treatise of Warre, to haue a multitude of warriors against it, it is forced therefore to seek to shelter it self vnder the wings of your protection, whereby it may be preferued from the fury of all the foes, and enuious darts of all the despisers of it. The reason why I commend  
it

## DEDICATORIE.

it to your Honours tuition, and become an earnest and humble suter to your Honor for your patronage: especially, is in regard I hope you will somewhat respect it for the names sake you are chiefly elected of the King, as the most experienc't soldiours of this Kingdome to be of his Counsell of warre, and this is the voyce of a Souldiour which doth concord with your Counsell, being as an Alarm, to awake all men out of the slumber of Securitie, to perswade them neuer so much to desire peace as to detest warre, seeing it is an action not onely lawfull but necessary to assume armes, either for the defence of our selues, or the reliefe of others, whose Dominions are vniustly detayned, or tyrannically vsurped. Farre be it from me to be too saucie, as to offer to aduise you that were a sinne of horrid presumption, and as great a follie as for the feet to guide the head, or the Ass to Counsell the Lyon, but my intent is to instruct the ignorant, to awake the secure, to commend the valiant, to condemne the cowardly, to raise the reputation of Souldiers, who are now looked vpon with a contemptfull eye, whose soules are captiuated with want & misery, who fight faintly because they are not rewarded brauely, to shew how in former times they which had behaued themselves valiantly were recompensed honorably, whereas now a dayes, the meede of their deserts for the most part is a bagge and a wallet, and there gayne the gallowes to deplore the decay of Marshall discipline, the neglect of warlike affaires, the which for a long time lay bleeding and were giuing vp the Ghost, vntill your Honorable Counsell recouered them and gaue vnto them life and action. Vouchsafe therefore most worthy Peeres to Patronize this worke, and to daigne to accept of this mite cast into your treasury, respecting not the greatnesse of the gift, but the might of the giuer, who though he can not present vnto you a worke according to his will, yet to the vtermost

## THE EPISTLE &c.

most of his power, whose onely hope is built vpon your acceptance? Oh then doe you respect this present, as God doth our petitions of whome it is said,

*Non vox sed votum, non masica cordula sed cor,*

*Non clamans sed amans, sonat in aere Dei.*

Tis not the voice, but vow, the heart, not musickes string,  
The loue, and not the cry, that in Gods eares doe ring.

Respect therefore in this worke, not the statelineesse of the stile, but the vprightnesse of the heart, not the well placing of the words, but the goodnesse of the intent, for it is the intention that crownes the action, & what better drift can there be of a mans designs then the weale publick, the preservation of his Countrie, the honor of his Country-men, the prouision of an Antidote against forraine foes & forces, the Centinell hath not an idle or vnnecessary office, the watchman in the Citie is not in vaine, he that forewarnes his friends fore-armes them, and surely I thinke then, this can not distast any honest, though it may bee some curious Palates howsoeuer: Howsoeuer let me intreate you, nay more obtaine so much of your Honours, that as you are a Counseller of Warre, so you would bee Countenancers of this souldiers voyce: that so by your furtherance a more happy successe may crowne my indeuoures, my labours be more fruitfull, causing all men to awake out of Securitie, and to be in a readinesse to make resistance against him that is alwayes ayming to giue an assault. So shall you shew your selues to be worthie Counsellors of Warre, Comforters of Warriors, Cauers of the wellfare of this Kingdome, and make the Author of this worke eternally obliged vnto you, who intreateth you to accept his labours as graciously as he offers it officiously,  
And rests

As ready in his person as his penne to doe  
his Soueraigne seruice, his Countrie good,  
and your Honours duety. G. M.



VOX MILITIS:

O R,

AN Enemy to Securitie.

**R**emembring how the anticke Poets faign'd,  
The Gods did punish those which them disdaind:  
How wofull Troy in flaming fires did manrne,  
Cause Paris did the suite of Iuno scorn;  
How faire Narciss into a flowre was turnd,  
Cause he at Venus dainty darlings spurnd:  
If deemd that angry Mars could doe no lesse,  
Then his fell fury upon those expresse;  
Which doe all Marshall Discipline neglect,  
And none of his braue Paramours respect,  
Who let there Weapons hang secure and rust,  
Surely it should not seeme in him vnust,  
If he should make them heauy paines endure,  
Which doe contemne his honour, line secure:  
And so he doth as neighb'ring Kingdomes shew,  
Who by their peace nurst up their ouerthrow:  
The milke-white Swan that in Meander swimmes,  
And in that Christall floud doth bath his limmes,  
Did from the Crow receiue no mickell hate,  
Who enuide at her happy faire estate,  
And labourd by all meanes her beauty faire  
To soyle, and so her whitenesse to empaire:  
But all in vaine, Whiles as the carefull Swan,  
With watchfull eye obserud him, but whan  
Shee did not watch, but when as silent sleepe,  
Possession of the Sunnes faire lights did keepe;  
Then at that houre shee sat upon her skirt,  
And all her white array besmeard with dirt:

B

Ob

## Vox Militis, Or

Oh let not then this our faire Swan-like Ile,  
All feare of future harmes from it exile,  
Promising peace, When an unhappy fate,  
Is eminent vnto her enuied state :  
Neither let those, whose faces blacke as hell,  
In whose blacke hearts, all blacke designs doe dwell ;  
Iniure her blest condition , neither Spaine  
Hinder her peace, giue life vnto her paine ;  
I doubt not if shee wake, they cannot hurt her,  
Yet if shee slumber, they may chance bedurt her,  
Which to preuent, here is the Souldiers voyce  
Awakes for feare her foes, should her deboyce :  
And let her Neighbours harmes, her armes be made,  
Let her sole blisse be on their ruine laide,  
So ist not fit in our House should befeare,  
When in our Neighbours fiery flames appeare,  
Will not the Souldier fence his proper head,  
When he his fellow seeth stricken dead ;  
Will not the Schollar to himselfe take heede,  
When as the rod doth make the others bleede :  
Consider then how these thy enemies,  
Did forraigne lands in state secure surprize ,  
Let Antwerpes fall like thunder in thy eares,  
Rouze thee from slumber, summon thee to feares,  
Which Towne could nere haue liberty forsooke,  
If that her foes had not her napping tooke :  
So did the Greekes vnto the Towne of Troy,  
Which being dead in sleepe and drinke, they did destroy.  
And as for late times, the Palatinate  
Through former ease, brought to unhappy fate :  
Heare but what France of haughty Spaine can speake,  
And it will slumber from your soules eye, breake,  
Examine a y Land each place on earth,  
Sayes danger from security hath birth ;  
It easie seemes to strike a standing Bucke,  
When as a tripping Doe hath better lucke.

## An Enemy to Securitie.

The standing Poole with speede doth putrifie,  
When we no filth in running streames discricie :  
All which doth manifest no other,  
Then that ease is of sorrowes all the mother :  
Whiles Sampson slept in his faire minions lap,  
He was ycatched in his strumpets trap ;  
Whiles Holifernes slept on downy bed,  
He lost the sought for conquest, and his head :  
And tis a maxime that excesse of rest,  
Hath bad successe, and sild, or neuers blest.  
Mars can t'indure Bacchus and Venus shout,  
Haue all the honour from terrestriall mould ;  
Tis meete he should haue some, tis against right,  
That in his worship man should nere delight :  
Then stay no longer from God Mars his broyle,  
Learne to defend your selues, your foes to foyle :  
You which so much adord the pipe and por,  
Ascribe now worship to the pike and shot,  
Make Mars his Altars smoake, his Angels flie,  
Leaue lust, and follow matchlesse Chinalry,  
That so you may immortalize your name,  
And purchase to your selues eternall fame ;  
Blunt the edge of their fury, which doe spight  
This our faire Albion, the Worlds delight :  
There is no honour, like to that in which  
One suffers death, to make his Countrey rich :  
Then on my Lads, doe not lie slugging heere,  
To smoake tobacco pipes, and sucke the beere ;  
But rather arme, and for your Countrey stand,  
Remember Honours haruest is at hand,  
In which you reape renowne, if vile disgrace,  
And cowardize produce not shame of face :  
Then for your armes prepare with all the speede,  
To make Religions foes from heart to bleede,  
Thinke how the praise of an heroicke sprite,  
With his Countries foes in field to fight.

## Vox Militis , Or

For this your Worthies had their Temples crownd,  
And were of all this Uniuersè renownd;  
In that they labourd for their Countreies good,  
And all her forraigne Foes With force Withstood:  
Were, bee such now, here in a chimney corner,  
One fellow quakes and shakes like Thomas Horner;  
When once he heares the rumors of the Warres,  
He is a man of peace, and loues not iarres:  
Yet want and pouerty doth haunt him so,  
He knowes not where to flie, nor what to doe;  
Another fellow seemeth to applaude,  
Bellonas comming, and her person laude:  
But if to follow her one should him trye,  
Like Thraso then heed in infidiis lie,  
As some in office other men doe presse  
Unto the warres, when they loue nothing lesse:  
And a third sort perhaps the warres doe curse,  
Because they doe suppose theyle charge his purse:  
Another that can scarce endure a scratch,  
Made with his Mistresse pin, when he doth catch  
Her by some part forbidden, if he heares  
That Mars within this Hemysphere appeares,  
A palse takes him, he sayes hees undone,  
He feares he shall be killed With a gun:  
And he another fault in them doth see,  
He feares his lodging too too hard will be,  
But vpon base minde, and learne to soare aloft,  
Honour lies not vpon a bed thats soft,  
Nor worthy knowledge, to the warre make hast,  
And strine to get a name that ere may last.  
Now least thou shouldest be dull, and loath to stirre,  
Peruse this worke of mine here as a spurre,  
To pricke thee forward, Where as thou maist reade  
The worth of Warres, and how they all exceede,  
Where thou mayst vnderstand a Souldier true,  
His labours meede that honour is his due:

And



## An Enemy to Securitie.

*And that like Atlas on his shoulders hee,  
Vpreares the Common-wealth from dangers free.  
The tyme When we these our armes vp should take  
The which obseru'd the warres doth prosperous make.  
And fourthly, this to thee doth shew the way,  
By which doth Marshall discipline decay.  
Then let these flowres which I wish payne collected,  
Not bee with scornefull Eye of thee reiected.  
The Toyle was mine, the Pleasure thine; the Paine  
Mine owne, doe thou but dayne to reape the Gaine.  
I like the Bee, the Hony home haue brought,  
Vouchsafe thee but to tast that I haue sought:  
Which if thou doest't will so encourage then,  
Thou shalt reape riper fruites from this my pen.*

FINIS.





# VOX MILITIS,

FORESHEWING WHAT PERILLES ARE PROCURED WHERE  
THE PEOPLE OF THIS OR

any other kingdome, liue without regard of

*Marshall Discipline: especially, when they  
stand and behold their Neighbours and*

*Friends in apparent daunger, & almost  
destroyed by their enemies vniust  
persecution, and not to assist them.*



**I**T is free from all doubt or suspicion that multitudes may coniecture me to haue suffered more then sufficient trauaile in this enterprise: To wit, This description of Warres & Martiall affaires, primarily in regard that they haue euer had the estimation of plagues and punishments, and to the Palats of some persons apprehension are so distastfull, that it is the most pernicious, superlatiue, and malignant of all mischiefes, being aswell accompted an affliction to the harmelesse as to the hurtfull, to the innocent as to the iniurious: for by it wholesome lawes and salutiferous Precepts are violated, Humanity defaced, Iustice peruerterd and suppressed, Pious places are prophaned, Horryd murders committed, vndefiled Virgins defloured, chaste modest Matrons defiled, spacious Kingdomes subuerted, great Cities subdued and ruinated. As *Namace* admired for the valour, *Corinth* famous for the magnificence, *Thebes* vnparalleld for the  
stare

statelinesse of the building and edifices. delicate *Tyre* accomplished, *Athens* holy *Ierusalem*, Contentious *Carthage*, *Anwerp*, and in this our moderne and miserable age, *Prague* the *Palatinate*, and *Breda* now languishing in the like misery, the which with diuers of her companyons by the meanes of warres haue bin sacked and spoyled, robbed and ruinated, & oftentimes layd wast and desolate, and therefore it is but meere ly punishment inflicted by God, vpon some place for some notable sinne and heauy affliction, being vsed of him as a corasue to eate out the dead flesh of security; the onely meanes to humble vs for our owne sinnes, and to reduce vs from the following of our owne corruptions to the fauouring of Christian religion.

A Secondary cause which induceth me to suspect, that this my work is likely to be rackt with many a rash censure, is this, *viz.* That as it is obuious in it selfe: so it is odious in respect of the instruments which are vsed in it, as the professors and followers of it are in such meane respect and estimation, as they are rather deemed fit for *Ruffians*, *Roysters*, and people of a vile abiect condition, rather then an exercise for honest holy men of conscionable conuersation: who neyther beare any zeale to Gods glory, nor any affection to theyr brothers good: in so much as it is *Cornelius Agrippas* assertion, that if you desire to see a true Tyrant, a Prophaner, or a Murtherer, a Robber, a Rauiisher, a Desflower, if you would haue all these seuerall conditions in one singular person, and if you desire to include all this matter in one word, it is comprehended in this one name *Souldier*.

But to the end we may adresse our Treatie to our intended Subiect, *viz. WARRE*, because I know many be so scrupulous and tender consciences, as they deeme them absolutely vnlawfull. I held it not fruitlesse and of no small import and consequence to produce some prooffe, as well out of Scripture as other wryters, to shew the lawfullnesse and good approbation of Military proceedings euen by God him selfe.

I could here produce whole cloudes of Testymonies out of Scripture for the confirmation of the trneth of this position: to  
 proue

proue that warres haue beene acceptable before the Maieſty of God, and ſometimes of more preuailence then peace, as it appeareth more cleerely, then the Meridian light, in the ſecond Chapter of the Booke of the *Iudges*, where the children of Iſrael were reſproued, for concluding a peace with the Cananites, neither hath onely approbation by the Scriptures, but is alſo receiued as a lawfull proceeding by diuers other famous Authours, and that it is not onely conuenient, but neceſſary for Princes to make a breach of amity, that they might better make a confirmation of inuiolable friendſhip, that their loue might be like a limme which being broken and well ſet, becomes more ſtrong and ſtable; and it is a Warre moſt worthily initiated, whereby the ſecurity and ſafety of the States effected, and on the contrary that peace is not well permitted, but moſt pernicious, which is the mother and cauſer of the peoples perill, and the Countreys hazard: And that true mirror of eloquence, *Cicero*, telleth vs; *Ad hunc finem bella ſuſcipimus ut cum pace & ſine iniuria viuimus*, To this end wee vndertake warres, that we may enioy peace without iniury: and in another place of the ſame Booke, writing to the ſame purpoſe; We muſt in matters of aduice not ſo denie warre, as to neglect our owne welfare: And one ſaith no leſſe pithily then prettily, *Bellum bello ſuſceptum bellum eſt*; Warres well vndertaken, are good and lawfull, for as we muſt be cautelous not vpon euery light occaſion to vndertake it, ſo wee muſt not be cowards vpon iuſt cauſe to reſuſe it, for both of them are the extreames of fortitude, as well a raſh attempt, as a baſe reſuſall: From hence *Demosthenes* that King of Orators, in a inuectiue Oration againſt King *Philip*, for his inſatiable ambitious deſire of gouernement, as he already had beſieged the Olinthians, vpon the conqueſt of whom he had a free paſſage into Athens, which to preuent, *Demosthenes* exhorts them not onely to aide the Olinthians, but alſo to riſe an Army to ſend into Macedonia, that ſo being wounded at home, hee might haue the leſſe liberty to hurt abroad, alleaging that aide to their Neighbours is very requiſite, ſince as their ſafety was founded vpon their good ſuccelle, for whoſoeuer withdraweth his helping hand, when as his neighbours houſe

is on fire, may want assistance to quench his owne, according to that old and vsuall verse, *Iam mea res agitur paries cum proximus audet*; It is my case: so when the next walles burned, either for the subuersion of any tyrant, which doth wrongfully vsurpe more by might then right any others dominions: in so much that in former times, it was held a thing conuenient in former times, that if any Prince did tyrannically abuse any of his Subiects, either with cruelty, murther, rape, rauine, or such like oppressions, wherein he might offer his subiects opprobrious iniurie, the which (in regard they cannot redresse themselves, for what subiect dares lift vp his hand against Gods Anointed, or to stand vp in Armes against his Soueraigne) it was requisite that the next adioyning Prince, who was a borderer vpon the confines of his Dominions, should assume armes against him, to chastise, correct, and reforme so great enormities, to the end that the name of a King might not seeme odious, and be hatefull vnto the people, as was *Nero*, *Heligabulus*, *Dionysius*, and too many others of that barbarous disposition and horrid cruelty.

From whence he purchased vnto himselfe such an immortal name, and neuer dying memory, as they did die for vile-fying such monsters, and exercising his prowesse vpon such tyrants.

But for the better satisfaction of those, whose precise consciences, will not allow any Warres or dissensions, to keepe any harmonickall consent either with goodnesse or godlinesse, giue but an attentue and patient eare vnto the words of *Hieronymus Osorius*, as they be recorded and written in his Booke entituled *Trine Christian Nobility*.

Neither hath this allowance of Warres onely approbation from him, but is receiued as a lawfull practise by the common consent of the most, or at least the best part of Doctors; Diuine *Plato* extolleth this art of Armes, and commandeth that children should be instructed in it, so soone as they came to ability of bodie, or any aptitude to discharge the Offices of Souldiers, and it was *Cyrus* his opinion, that it was as necessary as agriculture  
or

or husbandry, neither is it denyed by *Augustine* and *Bernards* those two famous Fathers.

The Romanes also who were of matchlesse worth in marshall affaires, being no lesse to be admired for their carriage abroad, then for their counsell at home, appointed for their chiefe Commanders two Consuls, the one to determine City affaires, the other to be occupied in marshall discipline, being assured that they could neuer haue peace within their walles, except they had warres abroad; to omit the iudgement of *Hipodamus Milesius*, a man so expert in all learning, who thought it conuenient for that City or Countrey which coueted quietnesse, and sought for safetie, to diuide their people into three parts, the one of which were to be appointed to be Artificers, the other for Husbandry, and the third sort set apart to bee employed in martiall exercises.

Indeede peace is a precious pearle, and is chiefly to be desired, but oftentimes Warres must be performed, that peace may be maintained: euen like a shippe which being in her quiet Harbour, is constrained to loose Anchor, and to seeke for safety in the vasse and raging Sea: if a man cannot attaine his right without violence, hee may lawfully take vp Armes, and get it by force, for some men are like a nettle, the more kindly they vse them, the worse they will sting them, the fairer they intreate them, the fouler they intertaine them.

*Salomon* likewise prescribeth a time for peace, and a time for Warre, a day of mirth, and a day of mourning, and therefore to vse time when occasion serueth, is a maine pont of principall wisdom, and to assume Armes vpon due premeditation, not inconsiderately to enter into conflict and skirmish, for that fauours of savage bestlinesse, and not of sage humanitie: but when time permitte, and necessitie requireth, then on with your Armour, fight manfully, preferring an happie and honourable death, before a disgracefull and miserable death.

There is a double kinde of Iniustice, the one in offering, the other in suffering Iniustice: the one is actiuelly, the other passiuelly vniust, wittingly to offend against a neighbour, is a sinne against our brother, and wilfully to beare an iniury, is an offence against ones selfe, and therefore I will not be a foe to my Neighbour, in wronging of him, neither will I bee an enemy to my selfe, in permitting him to offend me, when I am of ability to defend my selfe: But me thinkes I heare some object against the former resolution, saying, that Truth it selfe hath prohibited the rendring of euill for euill to any man, and hath inioyned, that if one hath receiued a blow of one eare, hee ought to turne the other: It is true that he hath said, I beleue that vengeance is the Lords, and hee will repay it, yet notwithstanding a Christian doth not goe about to reuenge it, as it is an iniury done to himselfe, but as an offence committed against God, who hath forbidden all iniustice, and commanded to giue vnto *Cesar* that which belongeth vnto *Cesar*, and I trust that no man will be so foolishly opinionated, that when he is oppressed by any Tyrant, should willingly surrender into his hands his possessions; his Crowne, and Signiory, or that it should not be a legall honest course, and not dissentane either from reason or religion, for a Prince to defend and maintaine his right, or that it should not bee lawfull for him to warre vpon him either for it, in the defence of true Religion, or the maintenance of their freedome and liberty, as the Athenians against King *Philip*.

And howsoeuer in this our Pilgrimage, fortitudes estimation is in the wayne, yet in ancient times prowesse was of such price and valour, of so great account, as no glory was counted so great, no renowne so honourable, as that which hath benee wonne in the field by the force of martiall prowesse, and to make men more greedy of such gain, and more thirsty of such atchiue-ments, great meedes and rich rewards were conferred vpon such as had deserued worthily, and behaued themselues brauely in the warres.

The noble *Caleb*, who by a constant courage and courageous constancy of minde, had perswaded the children of Israel, that  
had



had a determinate inclination to make a returne into the Land of Egypt, to continue still in their courage, their former manhood and vertue: and therefore the Lord promised to be his rewarder, who hauing a Daughter of incomparable matchlesse beauty, whose name *Achsar*, would espouse or giue her in marriage vpon none but hee that by his valour could take the City *Cariath*, which in the end was taken by *Othniel* his brothers sonne.

And did not *David* receiue great riches with the Daughter of King *Saul*, for ouerthrowing *Goliath*? who also promised a great reward to those which would worke the destruction of the Iebusites: The Carthaginians rewarded the Souldiers with so many rings as they had beene in battels: The Scithians permitted none to drinke in a great cup of gold, that was carried about, except they had wrought the ouerthrow, or brought an Enemy to destruction.

The Romans the more to accend mens mindes, and to set their breasts on fire with the desire of honour, and to pricke them on to prowesse, inuented stately triumphs, whereby his name might mount on the wings of Fame, which had deserued worthily, but on the contrary, such as had beene of cowardly carriage, or had any affinitie with our carpet Knights, were in a most shamefull manner disgraced.

The Macedonians did constitute a Law, that whosoever had not got the conquest of some one in fight or battaile, because hee had not striuen like a man for victory, he should be hanged like a dogge in a halter.

The Women of Cimbria beyond the valour of their Sex, slew all such that being so followed with feare, forooke the Field, although they were of their neuer so neere alliance, and were conioyned neuer so vnto them in the bond of consanguinitie.

The Women of Sparta would goe into the Field, the battaile being ended, to see in what places their Husbands had receiued their wounds, the which if they found them to be before, (from whence they might coniecture hee had fought manfully) they

would with great solemnitie performe his; but if behind, they left him as being ashamed of such a coward, and would not afford his carcasle so much as buriall.

*Tierias* a certain woman of *Lacedemonia*, hauing intelligence that her sonne had receiued a fatall wound in the warres, and had shaken hands and taken his farewell of this world, replied, was it not necessary that my sonne, going vnto the warres, should be the death of others, then wherefore should I lament if others haue beene the death of him, surely with lesse sorrow and more solace I remember him, supposing him no whit vn-worthy of me or his predecessours in that he liued not in shame and idlenesse, but died with honour: let cowardly hearts lament such a losse, as for my part, I will intombe my sonne and neuer weepe vpon his vrne.

Another woman of *Lacedemonia* bereaued her sonne of his vitall breath, to whom her wombe had giuen life, because he had basely fled from the warres, in whose reproch this epitaph was written.

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*Here doth the dastard knight Damation lie,  
Who like a coward from the warres did flie:  
And for that fault was by his mother slaine,  
Because he her and Spartan blood did staine.*

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*Solon* that wise and worthy Phylosopher, whom wee all admire, but scarce imitate for his wisdom; being demaunded of *Craesus* the King, of who in his conceit was molt fortunate, replied, *Tellus* an Athenian from whose loines was sprung ( in a countrey flowing with milke and honey, and abounding with all good commodities ) a great many of children, both for the indowments of the minde, and beautie of the body, absolutely

ly accomplisht, who defended his countrey manfully, liued with honour, died with glory.

Herethen you may perceiue the great estimation that valour was in former times when as it was so worthily reputed the exercisers of it so much encouraged, and the neglecters of it so much contemned, now what incommodity hath insued vpon them, who haue placed there sole and whole felicity in peace that they haue not onely despised warre, but haue vterly refused to learne all Marshall discipline, hereafter I will demonstrate vnto you.

But still me thinkes there remaines a ribble rabble of seeming religious people, whose queasie consciences strayne at a Gnat, but swallow a Camell, whose warie minds stumble at a straw, but leap ouer a block, which still doe oppose and make assault against our position, in regard that murther spoyles, and sundry other inconueniences are the effects of them: but it is not inough to reprove an opinion as erroneous, except they proue it false, neither doth this there meere assertion sufficient to infringe the verity of this position. Suppose Warre to be the mother of Murther, yet it is oftentimes such as is by God allowed, nay more commaunded: Did not *Iosuah*, fearing the day would haue imposed too speedy and present a period to his slaughter, commaund the Sunne to stay in *Gideon*, and the Moone in the *Aialon*, and the Lord did countenance his commaundement, for there succeeded an immediate Solstytne, and the Moone continued not her course, nay oftentimes the too much fauouring of ours and Gods enemies, hath beene the onely meanes to roote vs out of Gods fauour: For what was the originall of *Sauls* destruction? but the not destroying of the *Amalekites*, neither doe I produce these examples, to proue warres alwayes necessary: but sometimes lawfull, and I can not choose but admire the foolish frensie of some fantastique Coxcombes, who doe so much misconceiue of warres as they hold them directly displeasing to God, because murther.

murther, and diuers other misdemeanors are committed in them.

But by these arguments they kill themselves with their owne weapons, and seeking to maintaine the prerogatiue of peace, doe quite euert it, for by that argument it is the most to bee euert enormity that can be imagined: for is it not the nurse of vices, the roote of ruine, the prop of pride, to be short, the mother of all mischief: for in the time of peace wee fixe our fancie onely vpon vncertaine riches, for the satisfying of which sacred hunger of gold, what offence will wee not perpetrate, what sinne will wee leaue vnacted, who will not become an Vsurer, or an Extortioner, nay, that which is something better, a hangman, or an Executioner, a parasite, nay, a paracide, to purchase them? And when they haue attained them, they are but the *irratamenta malorum*, the iagines of iniquitie, the instruments of vanitie, the stirrers vp of strife and contention, making the possessor of them proude, presumptuous, vain-glorious, and like leauen sowing the whole lump. This *Augustine* perceiuing, writeth in a Booke of his entituled *De Cinitate Dei*, The City of Carthage was more hurtfull to the Citie of Rome after her destruction, then in the time of the warres which the Romanes had with her, for whilest they had enemies in Affricke, they knew not what vices meant at Rome.

Yet is it not my drift to preferre Warres before Peace, but to intimate, that as Peace is the great blessing of God, so Warres vndertaken vpon due consideration, doe nothing offend him: and although in the time of peace there is plentie of vice, yet notwithstanding it is not absolutely to be condemned, so though in the Warres there be many outrages committed, yet it is not wholly therefore to be neglected: the Sunne shining vpon some pleasant Garden, makes the flowres haue a more fragrant and delightfull smell, but displaying his most radiant beames vpon a dunghill, maketh the stinke greater, and the sent more noysome: The sicke mans stomacke turneth all his meate into bad humors, Peace may be prosperous, and Warre lawfull, yet both of them may be abused.

Moreover,

Moreouer, if I should speake of the particular commodities that seuerall countries haue reaped by warres, I could be infinite, and to the intent I may not range farre abroad for example, let thy consideration make but a step into our neighbouring nations, and let vs looke into the Low Countries, there you shall see the Prince of *Orange*, that treasury of all vertue and goodnesse, though with meane forces, withstanding a mighty nation, that his libertie might not be infringed, or his country iniured; neither hath he maintained his owne case only valiantly, but hath afforded his neighbouring friends aide and assistance. Let Spaine speake how often she hath receiued a repulse, and a *non obstant* from him? how often in vaine shee hath attempted his overthrow, but he like a well built fort hath valiantly withstood all their assaults? and though he hath happily bene moued, yet could not be remoued by their attempts: whereby as all men sufficiently vnderstand, hee is now growne potent and powerfull, rich and renowned: whereas on the contrary, if Asse-like he would haue borne the king of Spaines heauy burthen, submitted to the yoke of his obedience, he had lost his libertie, neuer attained the honor with which his name is now crowned, for he remaineth as a mirrour and terrour to all nations, for as his Excellency did iustly, and with due consideration vnder take, so hee hath nobly and with true valour maintained his quarrell against the King of Spaine. Surely an act well becomming so worthy and noble a Prince, who as hee should not be like a raw wound ouer-apprehensive of iniuries, so he should be vnlike dead flesh, nor too senselesse of wrongs done vnto: the one shewes folly the other feare. Neither would it ill becommen any Potentate to treade in the steps of so excellent a Prince, and not so much to respect peace as to neglect a iust occasion of warre, for doth it stand with reason or religion that a Prince hauing sufficient power to make resistance to an open enemy, should expose his open brest to his threatening sword, nay when he sees he hath already cutt off some of his lims to trust him with his whole body. Hath he any great good meaning to the tree that hackes and hewes downe the

branches : doth he beare any good affection to the father that striueth to iniure the child? or doth not he that oppresseth the child, expresse his hatred to the father? can one which loathes the effect loue the cause? will not hee which cannot tolerate the heate, labour to quench the fire? yes surely, and it was formerly lawfull for Kings to seeke to depose a Tyrant though he had no interest in those which were iniured. Then how much more forcible a motiue hath hee if his posteritie bee abused, and he be wounded in his owne bowels: Surely his sword ought not to rest in his sheath when he hath such iust cause to draw it, but his angry canons to thunder in the eares of his enemies, and tell them they haue iniured him. And is not this the cause of our Soueraigne, if euer Prince had iust cause of warre, it is he, for they haue exiled out of his inheritance the *Palgraue*, a Prince so hopefull; they haue layd wast his countrey which was the Paradise of the world, a land so fruitfull, they doe vniustly vsurpe his Diadem, they haue falsely promised the restoring of it, when as the pulses of their promises did not beat according to the motion of their hearts. Certes it did not seeme Princely pietie in them to offer, neither doth it consent with kingly courage in him to suffer, that me thinks this voyce of the Souldier is but as an echo to the voyce of heauen, which sayes the cause is iust; and counselleth all Christian Protestant Princes ioyntly to assume armes to driue this Boare out of the Vineyard, and to re-seate this royall Prince in his Throne and dignitie.

Heare oh you braue English Spirits which once were admired, I had almost sayd adored for your valour when you had imployment; how can you any longer desist from the pursuit of honour in so iust a cause? doe you not long to fight for the safetie of a limme, nay the halfe part of your Soueraigne. But why should I vse these needlesse perswasions, or spurre a free horse, I dare say you are easily intreated, nay hardly perswaded from it, and you are as restless being staued from the combat, as the Stone violently detained from the Center.

Neue,

Neuer was Beare robbed of her whelpes more angrie of reuenge then you of this enterprife; it may be indeed there bee some Spanish English (as they terme them) who are neither true to God, their King, or countrey, which haue not the least drop of loyall blood lodged in their hearts, that would be somewhat vnwilling to act a part in this matter: perhaps likewise there be others who be guilty of so little valour, that they had rather liue like drones in this hieue of our commonwealth, and be loitring lubbers at home, then any waies to offer there seruice for their Soueraignes welfare, or spend a dram, nay a drop of blood in the defence of the truth, who are very well content to enioy the warmth they haue vnder the wings of their Soueraigne, but will not do any seruice in the requital of this benefite being not much vnlike to vngratefull curs which will fawne vpon their master so long as he feedsthem, but when hee hath any futter imployments for them, they bid him adue, and hasten to their kennels: So these men, or rather beasts indeed, that are borne, bred, fostered, fed, in their countrey, and yet can suffer an indignitie done to their Prince, and when their countrey standeth in need of their aid or assistance, to slip their collar & come to combat in the defence of it as willingly as Bears to the stake: that argueth an vngratefull mind, free from all vertue as well as vallour, and indeed are no more worthy to enioy the commodities and benefites of their countrey then a Swine deserues a pearle.

But as *Plutarque* maketh mention of an Iland in Greece called *Cobde*, in which there was a linage descended from that noble valiant captaue called *Agis* the good, amongst which *Agis* as this law especially was most strictly obserued, that none durst presume to stile himselfe naturally borne in the Ile, vnlesse he had performed some memorable valiant act: or at the least, shewed himselfe forward and willing in the defence of his King and Countrey, and I dare truely say, though he dare style himselfe one of the Countrey naturally borne, yet he is not so, for a true English man hath a heart more full of Celestiall fire, and a bosome better furnisht with noble thoughts, then to be a



Porter of iniuries done to his Soueraigne, or any of those which belong vnto him: And I do speake, *ex animo*, there neuer went a hungry man with a greater or better appetyte to a feast, then they would to this tray. They know the Prince so worthy, the cause so iust, the successe so certaine: I doubt not, but it hath bin so sufficiently proued, that warres are lawfull, that a blind man may apparantly see it: but still there are some, who though they can not disallow of the action, yet they seeme to dislike of the Agents, and perhaps they will say, a Soldiour can not be an honest man, because in warres they be ministers of so much mischief: this is their reason. But in this place I will but reason of fouldiours, as I haue already done of warres: that is, but to shew what maner of people fouldiours haue beene: As for such as doe but vsurpe the name of fouldiours, I leaue them tyll another occasion.

Genesis. 14.

We finde in the 14 Chapter of the booke of Genesis, that *Abraham* was a captaine and leader of men, vnto whom *Melchizedech* the King of *Salem* brought forth bread and wyne: albeit he were a Priest of the most high God. And *S. Paule* in his Epistle to the Hebrues the 6. Chapter, speaking of our Saviour Christ, saith, *That he was made a high Priest for euer after the order of Melchizedech*: and all the Diuine & ancient Doctors by generall consent do agree, that the first true figure of Christ, was here offered to souldiers, that were returned from the slaughter and spoyle of their enemies.

A speciall cause wherein souldiers may worthily triumph, & a choake peare sufficient, to stop their mouthes, that would so absolutely condemne them.

Exod. 18. 21.

Deut. 1. 13. 15.

*Moses*, though he were otherwise a Prophet, yet he was likewise a captaine, to whom *Jethro* his father in law, by the motion of Gods spirit, gaue counsell to provide such to be iudges ouer the rest, which should be found to bee men of courage, to feare God, to be louers of truth, and hating couetousnesse, &c. and that of them he should make some *Millenaries* to rule ouer thousands; and that he should create others *Centeniers*, to rule ouer hundreds: other *Quinquageniers* to beare authority ouer fif-

ties:



ties: and *Disiners* to commaund our tennes.

*Iosue*, at whose commandement the sonne was obedient, *Iudges.7.* was a souldier and a leader of an armie.

When the whole host of the children of Israel was vtterly dismaide for the multitude of their enemies, whose number was like the sandes of the sea, the Lord commanded *Gedeon* to make his choyse of such to serue for souldiers to encounter them, as were most saythfull, that doubted not of his promises made vnto them, which were in number but 300. and were chosen by lapping of water.

Who euer stood more in the good grace and fauour of God, then that noble King and captaine *Dauid*, whom the Lord termed to be a man after his owne hartes desire?

What should I here speake of *Jephthah*, of *Jehu*, of *Judas Macchabeus*, and of many other, which were notable souldiers? shall they be condemned to be wicked and euill, because they were warriours? or shall we thinke of them, that in that vocation they offended God?

When the souldiers demanded of *John Baptist*, what they *Luke.3.* ought to doe, he willed them to hurt no man wrongfully, but to liue by their wages: he sayd not vnto them, Forsake your vyle profession, you can not be the children of God, to follow any such manner of exercise: the which questionlesse he would haue done, if he had so thought.

And when the Captaine, who had sent vnto Iesus for the healing of his seruant that lay sick, as Iesus was going towards his house: (*May Lord* quoth the Captaine) *I am not worthy that* *Luke.7.* *thou shouldest enter into my roose, doe but speake the word onely, and my seruant shall be safe: for I also am a man set under power, and haue under me souldiers: and I say vnto one go, and he goeth: and to another come, and he cometh: and to my seruant doe this, and he doth it.* Iesus maruelling at his words, turning him about to those that followed, sayd: *I haue not found so great faith, no not in Israel.*

And what godly commendation may be giuen to any man then we finde in the 10. Chapter of the Actes of the Apostles, *Actes.10.*

where it is written as followeth.

There was a certaine man in Casarea, whose name was Cornelius, a captaine of the souldiers of Italy, a deuout man, and one that feared God with all his household, &c. To this Cornelius the Angell of the Lord appeared, and willed him to send into Ioppa, and to inquire for one Simon Peter, who should instruct him and baptise him in the name of Iesus, and when the Angell was departed, thus sayth the text: *He called to him two of his household seruants, and a deuout souldier, that wayted on him, & told them all the matter, and sent them to Ioppa, &c.* This may seeme sufficient to proue, that not onely Captaynes, but also priuate souldiers, haue beene found to be both zealous and feruent in the loue and feare of God, and that he hath likewyse accepted them into his speciall grace and fauour.

But what should I stand here to manifest the vertues, where-with a number of noble captaines haue beene most plenteously indued: as the bountie and liberality of *Alexander*, the continencie of *Scipio*; the iustice and equity of *Iulius Caesar*, the patience and humility of *Agathocles*, the mercy and pitie of *Agessilaus*, the faith and fidelity of *Regulus* to his very enemies. Here might (I say) euen of this onely matter a huge volume be written, onely of the vertuous dispositions of noble souldiers: in so much that this oath, *By the faith of a Souldier*, hath beene so inuiolably kept, that a souldier hath beene better to haue beene credited by that oath, then some merchants now by their obligations.

But here if any will coniecture, that in tyme past souldiers haue so exceeded in vertues, that at the time present they haue none at all left for them to boast on: although in *England* our multitude be not many, yet amongst those few there bee both honourable and worshipfull, whose magnanimity in the tyme of warres hath made them famous in forreine countries, and whose noblenes and vertues now in the time of peace, do shine coequall with the best.

But here peradventure some curious caueller will repleie, that these may be better called sage and wyse counsellers, then bloodie

bloodie or cruell Captaines : and rather may bee termed sober , and discreet Iustices , then rash and harbrayned souldiers : and thus by denying them to be souldiers , will thinke I am neuer the neerer my prooffe . But here if there were no other shift , or that the matter were so needefull to bee reasoned on : it were very easie to proue , that the best and noblest souldiers bee euer found to be the wyfdest and meekest Counselers : and for that cause the Poets haue fayned *Minerva* to be armed, signifying that Captaines and souldiers should bee (as it is reported of *Iugerth*) not onely wyse in counselling, but couragious in conquering: as politick in keeping , as valiant in getting.

And *Tullie* in his first booke of *Offices* speaketh of a double commodity that these men do yeeld to their countrie, who armed, do make warres: & roabed, do gouerne the comon weakh.

*Tull. de offi.*  
*lib. 1.*

What though there be some that in the tyme of seruice, will intrude themselves, and become souldiers, of purpose rather to spoyle, robbe, and filch, then to do any good seruice, shall the honest Souldier therefore be condemned ? so euery profession, how necessary so euer it seeme, would be misliked, and men of euery faculty would be despised.

As first for example , the Merchants , whose trade , as *Plinie* sayth , was inuented for the necessity of mans life , transporting from one region to another , that which lacketh in the one and aboundeth in the other : yet there bee many that vnder this cloake and good pretence , continually do practise, to transport out of their owne natieue countries, such commodities as may not well be spared: whereby many times great scarcity and dearth doth happen, wherein the people are pitiously oppressed.

In *England* once a yeare we finde the extremity, either for want of corn, leather, hides, tallow, butter, cheefe, bacon, beefe, beere, and many other such like, which by his Maiestie are prohibited: but no restraint may serue against those theeuces, vnnatural robbers and spoylers of theis owne countrie.

And yet these are commonly the greatest find-faults that will inuey

inuey against souldiers, whose spoyles are much more tollerable, because they spoyle but their enemies: these rob and spoile their friends, and make wracke of their owne countries, by conueying away their commodities, and by returning of incommodities, vaine trifles, which are not necessary for humane life, but onely to maintaine women and children in pride, pompe and vaine glory, such things as do procure delights, wantnesse and delicacie: the very vanities and vices of euery nation by these men are brought home. And then what periuie, what fraude, what deceit by themselves, their brokers, and retailers is vsed to vtter them, my wits be too weak, nor I thinke there is no other that is able to expresse, vnlesse it bee a Merchant himselfe that hath vsed the trade.

Furthermore, vnder this trade and trafficke, they haue conference with strange Princes, and vtter vnto them the secrets of countries, lend them mony, and in the end will not sticke to betray their owne countrie and commonwealth.

There is another kinde of Merchants, that decke their shops with other mens goods, borrowing here of one, and there of another: and when they haue gotten into their hands some great masse or value, then they become bankrupts, and liue in a corner with other mens goods.

Thus you may see, that although this trade or trafficke of merchandize is very beneficiall to euery state and commonwealth, and that there haue beene many wise and notable men that haue vsed it, as *Thalust*, *Solon*, *Hippocrates*, and others, yet it is by some abused: but shall wee therefore condemne the trade, or other good and honest merchants that vse it? not so, for the exercise of it may not be forborne, and the honest trading Merchant is to be had in reuerence and estimation.

In like manner amongst the Lawyers, are there not found many that creepe into the Inns of Court, that seeke by law to ouerthrow law, such as be termed by the name of *Peti foggers*, brethels, that practise nothing but to breed dissentions, strifes, suits, quarrels, and debates betweene neighbour and neighbor brother and brother, yea somtimes betweene the father and the sonne?

First,

First they animate them to commence actions, perswading them that their quarrels be iust, and will very well stand with law: but when they haue once gotten them in, then they feed them with delayes, procrastinating their suits from day to day, from terme to terme, yea from yeere to yeere: in the end, when the matter is like to fall out against them, then they blame their clients, that in the beginning they did not thoroughly instruct them.

These be people that of all other are most to be detested: for in the time of peace, these procure continuall warres, and ciuill dissentions, not amongst enemie, but amongst friends, not amongst forraine foes, but amongst their naturall country men, reioycing when any bral or brabble doth fall out amongst their neighbours.

And yet they would be accounted the authours of peace, & will not let to exclaime against the fouldiour, and condemne him, because they doe thinke him to be like vnto themselves, that is, to be desirous of warres and troubles.

There is no Parliament or conuocation that is called, but if there be any good motion had in question, for the quietnesse or quicke dispatch of matters in controuersie, but that lawyers be the only lets that it shall not come forth: because that if it were not for delaies and shifts, the one halfe, nay not a quarter of them might be able to thrue by their occupation, there are such a shamefull company.

Yea, many times there are found great corruptions euen amongst the Iudges themselves: that for feare to offend a Prince or some Noble man, will not sticke with Pilate to condemne Christ. Sometime with Gold and Siluer or other gifts, they be so corrupted, that they regard more the presents that are giuen them, then either iustice or equitie: they are diligent in rich mens causes, put the poore they deferre: the complaint of the widow or fatherlesse cannot be heard amongst them.

But shall we therefore reprove the law, which is the only prop and stay to euery commonwealth, without the which we could not liue in any good order, otherwise then as brute beasts neither could those that be good and harmlesse, enioy either

goods or possessions from cruell Tirants and oppressours? neither were any one man assured of his life or liuing, were there not law to punish martherers, and to maintaine right: or shall the abuses of some, condemne all honest and true dealing lawyers, who in their profession of all men are worthy to be honored? As there is no reason in the one, so they be too much to blame, that for the lewdnesse of some losses, that doe but vsurp the name names of souldiers, will therefore so absolutely condemne all souldiers, thinking there can be no good, because some are ill. But what profession may there be, wherein wicked men will not seeke to cloke and couer themselves? Be there not that enter euen into the Ministery of the holy sacraments, prowd prelates, blinde guides, and lazie lubbers: some that during the space of twentie yeeres, haue receiued the fruits of benefices, that haue not three times visited their flocke, but commits them to Sir *John* lacke latine and his fellow, poore ignorant Chaplaines: such as they hire best cheape: while they themselves liue in pleasure, pompe and pride: not like *S. Peter* nor *S. John*, that had not one peny to giue to the poore lame man, that sat begging at the temple gate: and yet they would be called their successors? These be they of whom the Prophet *Ezechiel* so exclaimeth, saying, They serue for nothing, but to serue themselves, and in steed of feeding their flocke, they take the fleecce, draw the milke, kill the fattest, eate the flesh, breake the bones: they are dumbe dogges, that know nothing, they dare not barke, but are very curious to haue horsekeepers for their Palfries, Falkconers for their Hawkes, Cookes for their Panckies, but the poore sheepe perish through their default. I know likewise that there be a number of a learned Pastors, godly ministers, diligent Preachers, and faithfull followers: they which (God defend) should beare the abuses of the others. Then if the holy temple of God, cannot be cleansed from such Ministers of mischiefes: they be something too nice, that would haue souldiers to be all Saints, and much more to blame that would make them all diuels: because some doe amisse. And here withall I must thinke them to be very partiall, that with such blunts termes will intitle souldier,

Souldiers in the time of Warre : and in the time of peace, can so cleanly cloake the very same Actors, with names and titles of credite and estimation. For in the time of Warres, he that is found to be bloudily minded, killing without compassion all that lighteth in his wrath, they terme him by the name of a Tyrant and a murtherer, where in the time of peace, they sometime shadow him vnder the title of my Lord Iudge, but many times by the name of Master Iustice of Peace and Quorum. In the time of Warre, whom they terme a seditious mutiner, a peruerter of good Lawes, a maintainer of vngodly quarrels: In the time of Peace they call him Master Sergiant of the Quoife, a wise Counsellor in the Law, or an honest viligent Atturney. In the time of Warre, whom they terme a thiefe, a robber, a spoiler: In the time of peace they call him an honest trading Merchant. In the time of Warre whom they call a violator of Women, a rauisher, and deflowerer: In the time of peace they call him a friendly and louing gentleman: yea, and some foolish soother, that will speake they know not what, will say he is a right Courtier, and a Court-like gentleman. In the time of Warre, he that can tell a filed tale, and that can creepe into mens bosomes to serue his owne turne, they call him a Parasite, a flatterer, and a dissembler: In the time of peace they call him an excellent learned man, and a verie good Preacher.

Such partialitie (I say) is amongst them, that no faults are espied, but such as be committed amongst Souldiers: Neither doe I here goe about to excuse all Souldiers, as though there were none ill: but those that be, are commonly found in these new leuied bands, & not amongst old souldiers, as hereafter I will shew.

But here (peradventure) some will thinke, that although many of them may be excused from a number of vices, where-with they haue beene charged: yet that they of force must be all murtherers, may not be denied: for they goe into the Field as well weaponed to kill, as armed to defend. This obiection I haue many times heard, but those people are in too scrupulous an opinion, considering how many examples wee may finde in the holy Bible: where God hath



not beene offended, with those that haue killed their enemies: but that is sometimes lawfull in the presence of God to shake off the yoke of bondage by the death of Tyrants, as *Judith* by *Holofernes*, and many other like. But as iustice without temperance is reputed iniurie: so magnanimitie without mercie is accounted Tyranny: and as it cannot be counted a noble victorie which bringeth not with it some clemencie, so to vse pittie out of time and season is as great folly, as to vse mercy in any conflict till victorie attained.

And sometimes policie excludeth pittie, as the Greeks, who after the destruction of *Troy*, slew *Astinax* the son of *Hector*, to the end that there might remaine no occasion of quarrell, fearing if he had liued, he would haue sought some reuenge.

Indeed they may say souldiers are most mercilesse, but there are sundry most miserable. First, in the time of warres, they spare not in their countries behalfe, to forsake their wife, children, father, mother, brother, sister, to leaue their friends, and onely betake them against their enemies, contented to yeeld themselves to continuall watch, ward, fasting, hunger, thirst, cold, heate, trauell, toyle, ouer hils, woods, deserts, wading through riuers, where many sometimes lose their liues by the way, lying in the field in raine, wind, frost and snow, aduenturing against the enemy, the lacke of limmes, the losse of life, making their bodies a fence and bulwarke against the shot of the canon.

But the warres being once finished, and that there is no need of them, how be they rewarded, how be they cherished, what account is there made of them, what other thing gaine they then slander, misreport, false impositions, hatred and despight.

How small is the number that bee in England of sufficient men, such I meane as be able in deed, in the time of seruice, to stand their countrie in stead, to any purpose, and yet how many of this small number haue euer beene brought to credit, or beene any thing preferred, for the seruice they haue done?

And O England, would to God so many presidents of others mishaps might make thee take heed, & call thy selfe to remembrance



braunce: consider thy enemies be not so secret, but they be as malicious, and haue staide all this whyle neither for want of quarrell, neither for want of will, if they themselves were once at quiet: nor flatter not thy selfe because thou hast enioyed a peaceable time, that it shall still indure, but remember the longer it hath beene calme, the sooner the storme is looked for, and the greater the rage when it falleth.

If thou doest well looke into thy selfe, and ponder thine owne case, thou shalt finde, that if any sodaine alarm should happen, thy greatest want shalbe onely of those men that now thou holdest in so small estimation, and doest esteeme of so litle accompt.

If thou thinkest thy great numbers of vntrayned men, are sufficient to defend thee, doe but remember what happened to *Antwerp*, where they wanted neither men, nor any other provision for the warres. But they wanted souldiours to direct them, and men of vnderstanding to encourage them: For the want of knowledge breedeth the want of courage, as *Salomon* sayth, *A Wyse man is euer strong: yea a man of vnderstanding increaseth with strength: for with wisdome must warre be taken in hand, and where there are many that can giue counsell, there is the victorie, &c.* Prou. 10.

And *Xerxes*, who with a great armie, was put to the worst but with 300 *Lacedemonians*, confessed that he forced not so much for the multitude, as for their knowledg and experience. I could here rehearse many other examples of like effect, but I leaue them till other occasion, & will conclude with what care and provision sundrie noble Princes haue provided for their souldiours, not onely in the time of warre when they haue had need of them: but as well in the time of peace for their seruice already done, that they should not want, according to the minde of *Alexander Senerus*, who sayth, *The souldiour is worthy his keeping in the time of peace, that hath honestly serued his countrie in the time of warre, although for age he can not trauell, yet his counsell may now be spared.* And *Iesus the sonne of Sirach* sayth, *There bee two things that greene my heart, and in the third is a*

displeasure come vpon me , when an expert man of warre suffreth scarcenes and povertie , when men of vnderstanding and wisdom are not set by , and When one departes from righteousnesse to sinne, &c.

O *Octavian Augustus* honored souldiours with this law : Whatsoever thou be that shalt serue with vs in warres ten yeeres space, so that thou shalt be forty yeeres old , whether thou hast serued on foot or on horse-back , hereafter be thou free from warres, be thou *Heros*, an old souldier: let no man forbid thee the citie, the streete, the temple, nor his house: let no man lay any blame to thy charge , put any burden vpon thee, or aske thee any money: if thou shalt offend in any thing, looke to be chastised by *Cesar* and by no man else. In all dishonesty that men shall commit, I will that thou be the Iudge, and discloser , whether they be priuate or officers : that which thou shalt say and affirme for trueth, no man shall reprove for false . I will that all wayes and places be open for thee, thou shalt haue authority to eate and drinke at princes tables: thou shalt yeerely haue wages of the common treasurie to finde thee and thy household: let her be preferred before other women, whom thou shalt take to be thy lawfull wife : and he that thou shalt call infamous , let him be wicked and infamous: thou being *Heros*, shalt haue authority to beare armes, badges, names, and ornaments, which be decent for a King: doe what thou list in euery place and country where thou comest, if any do thee wrong let his head be cut off, &c.

*Charles* the great, when he had translated the name of the Empire to the *Germans*, after the *Saxons* and *Lombards* were vanquished, gaue this honor to his souldiers, saying: You shall be called *Heroes*, the companions of Kings , and Iudges of offences: liue ye hereafter void of labour , countell Kings in the publike authority, reprove dishonest things, fauour women, help Orphanes , let not Princes lack your counsell, and aske of them meate, drinke and money, if any shall deny it , let him be vnrenowned & infamous: if any doe you iniury, let him know he hath offended the Emperors Maiesty : but ye shall foresee, that

that ye distaine not so great an honour, and so great a privilege, gotten by the great labour of warre, with drunkenness, rayling, or any other vice: to the end, that that which we haue giuen you for glory, redound not to punishment, which we will for euer referue to be giuen you by vs and our successors, Emperors of Rome, as often as you shall transgresse.

And *Polycrates* of *Samos*, appointed liuing for the wiues and children of the dead souldiers, streightly commaunding, that no man should offend them, or do them any wrong.

*Solon* made this law, that those children, whose fathers had spent their liues in fighting in the defence of the common wealth, should be brought vp at the charges of the common treasure.

But what doe I stand reciting of strange histories, forepassed so many yeeres since: Why do I not remember the Frenchmen and Spaniards, amongst whom at this instant men of seruice be not a little honoured, and had in estimation: And goe to the drunken countries of *Denmarke* and *Swethen*, and those other partes of the East, and how be souldiers cherished, & men of seruice provided for.

Here might be many other things said in the behalfe of souldiers, the which I omit, and leauing them to the benefit of better fortune, will come to speake of the abuse of the time.



# THE SECOND

## PART SHEWING THE

time, when warres ought

*to be put in execution.*



Owfoener I know some will condemne my discourse as friuolous and fruitelesse : For howsoeuer in other nations there hath bene a greater effusion of the blood of men, then of Beasts, yet we haue securely slept vpon our Couches of ease, and surfeited of ease and plentie, yet though it be the part of a foole at the sea, to wish for a storme, when the weather is calme:so I know likewise in the time of calme, to prouide for a storme, is the point of a wise mariner : for who considereth not, to what disposition Kings and Princes be commonly inclined vnto, in these latter dayes:which is, to haue greater felicitie, with Tyranny to offend others, then with iustice and equitie to keepe their owne:it ought therefore with great diligence to be prouided for, that like as in the time of warre, circumspect care of peace may not be omitted:so in the time of peace, such things may be foreseene, appertayning to the warre, that the want of warlike prouisions, be not preiudiciall to the maintenance of this sweet and quiet peace.

And the very occasion that vrgeth me to wryte, is to wish that in *England* we were expert warriors, though not warre louers:and that we had many that were wise, rather then willing souldiers. But where peace is so immediatly desired, that in preferring thereof they forget all Martiall exercises, which is the very preseruer, & maintainer of peace, (according to the minde  
of

Of *Valerius Maximus*, who sayth, *That the custodie of blessed peace consisteth in the knowledge of warre*) it can not be chosen therefore, but those people be euer nearest their owne harme, that will so carelesly spend the time of peace. as though they should neuer more haue occasion to enter into warre,

And generally it is seene, where pleasure is preferred so excessiuely, and the people follow it so inordinately, that they lie and wallow in it so carelesly, they commonly end with it most miserably.

For how many Cities, how many Countries, which sometime most of all flourished, onely by reason of their farre stretched Empire, glory and renowme, purchased by famous and noble actes, are now beaten flat to the ground, couered with mould, and almost out of remembrance.

Where are now become the dominions of the *Assyrians* and *Persians*? What is become of the glory of the rich citie *Athens*: which had bene so often forewarned by that excellent Orator *Demosthenes*? Or where is now the pomp and power of the *Macedonians*? Or what hath wasted the fame and renowme of the citie of *Rome*, that it had not bene perpetuall.

What other thing then this inordinate delicacie, ryot and idleness: For when they ouer neglected the seates of warre, layd aside their weapons, fought more for their owne priuate advancement, then for the liberties of their Countrey: then came their kingdomes to calamity, & began headlong to fall to the ground: and then in the stead of frugality sprung vp outrageous ryot: in stead of hardinesse and courage in the warres, exceeding tendernesse, and nicenesse, both of body and minde: and thus when the knowlege of Souldierfare was extinguished: then vnvariable desire of riches made entrie amongst them, and nothing so much practised, as to haue experience in buying and selling, that in the ende, the Emperiall Crowne was bought and sold for money amongst them: and the Romane Empyre which so mightily had flourished: was now made subiect to common thraldome.

But for that there are some, that are nothing moued with

reading of histories, monuments, or the examples of auncient wryters, vnlesse they haue knowne the like in their age, or seene with their eyes, or as it were touched with their finger, I will therefore put such in remembrance of the state and condition of *Holland, Zeland, Flanders, Brabant*, and other partes of the low cuntries: How many yeers continued they in peace & quietnesse: in drunkennesse, in lechery, in ryot, in excesse, in gluttony, in wantonnesse? (I will not say in the like predicament that we now remaine in England) the which to continue, they were contented to submit themselues to any manner of thraldome, and to euery kinde of slauey, to receiue the Spaniards into their cities and townes, which were naturally seated so strong, that no forreine Prince could forceably haue made entrie into them.

How the Spaniards gouerned them, with what rigour they ruled them, and how tyrannously they raigned ouer them, is so well knowne, as I will not spend the time to relate: in the end, to disburden themselues from that which before they had yeelded vnto, by necessity they were inforced to goe to *Mars* his schoole, and to practise the art of warre, which had euer bin most loathsome vnto them, not without great ruine and wrack, of many noble cities and townes, and with no lesse spoyle and hauock of infinite goods and riches.

Forlike as the desire to haue dominion ouer many kingdomes, and to haue Soueraingty ouer farre stretched Empires, is a common infirmity amongst Kings & Princes: so there is nothing may sooner prouoke them to giue attempt, then where they see such forgetfulness amongst the people, that sloath and idleness beareth the whole sway among them: As *Plutarch* in his *Apophthegmes*, maketh report of a famous captain, to whom a certain reader of the *Athenians* made his complaint, that the men of armes in his camp reproched them of *Athens*, to whom the capitaine made answer, that as the thing that is well kept, is hardly lost, and that nothing prouokes the theefe sooner then negligence: So, if the *Athenians* had tyed care and circumspection to their wordes and deedes, they had neuer falne into the hands of the *Lacedemonians*.

And *Cambyſes* the father of *Cyrus* King of *Persia*, being asked by what meanes Cities might beſt be kept in ſafety, answered, If they that kept the ſame Cities, doe thinke they can neuer be warie enough of their enemies: the which in the *Maſſilians* was charily performed, who kept both ward and watch in their Cities in the time of peace, as if they had bene continually vexed and troubled with warre, and to that purpoſe, inſtituted ſundry good ordinances, vpon the holy dayes to ſee their Souldiours ſtanding vpon the walles, and exerciſing themſelues in the ſeates of armes. And that notable Captaine *E-paminondas*, while the Citizens of *Thebes* gaue themſelues to feaſting, banqueting and bellie cheere, ranne haſtily to arme him ſelfe, and marched towards the citie walles, to the ende the reſt might be the ſafelier drunke, and aſwell to ſignifie, that the ſafety of their Citie ſhould at no time be forgotten.

And although King *Solomon*, who in the holy Scriptures is called *Rex pacificus*, and was promiſed by the mouth of God a peaceable raigne, and was ſtill buſied, and turmoyled with the building of the holy Temple: yet notwithstanding, he was not forgettull to furniſh his garrisons with innumerable men of warre, horſes and chariots. To be ſhort, there is, neither hath bene any well gouerned Common-wealth, but the lawes of Armes be as carefully provided for, as any other citie cauſes: but where delicacy once preuaileth and getteth the vpper hand, there adew Martiall mindes, and farewell magnanimitie, where ſlouthfulneſſe hath once made entrie: for the nobleneſſe that is to be looked for in a princely and hantie courage, though it be chiefly wrought by the force of the minde: ſo the body muſt be exerciſed, and brought in ſuch plight, as it may be made able to follow paine and trauell.

Were not the old ſouldiours of *Hamiball*, in lying but one winter in *Capua*, ſpending the time in wantonneſſe amongſt the delicate Dames, ſo effeminated and inſeebled, both in body and minde, that they neuer did any thing afterward, that was worthy of report.

And *Xerxes* being offended with the *Babylonians*, becauſe they



trayterously had shrinke from him: when he had againe brought them vnder, he forbad them to beare any more weapons, & further commaunded them, that they should sing to the Lute, and other Instruments, learne to keepe harlots, and haunt Tauernes, which policy he of purpose prepared, to weaken their courages, whereby he might the better keep them vnder awe.

The knowledge of warre therefore, and the exercise of armes are especially to be sought, neither can I tell whether any thing be more noble, by the which so great dominions and noble Empires haue bene purchased, Kingdomes enlarged, Princes preferred, iustice maintained, good lawes protected, and the common wealth defended.

Great is the glory in the knowledge of warre therefore: neither hath the citie of *Athens* atchieued so great renowne and glory, although it merited to be called the mother of all artes and sciences, as *Rome* hath done, onely by magnanimity, and force of Martiall might: which brought such reputation to their Common wealth, that farre and strange regions sought their aliance and friendship, and thought themselves assured against their enemies, if they had confederation with them, that in the ende, they grew to such admiration, that for their lenitie and surmounting curtesie, they were of all men beloued, and for their valiant magnanimitie, they were of all men feared. Neither was this magnificence vpholden by doing wrong and iniury: for they neuer attempted warres but for things in claime, or in defence of league friends. Then (as *Cicero* sayth) *The Senate might rather haue bene termed, the protection, haue, and refuge of kings, people, and nations, more truly then the Empire of the World.* Neither were they found rash to enter into warres headily, although they had occasion, as did appeare at the citie of *Sagunto*, where the people of *Carthage* brake the league, and desired peace: yet the Senate sent thither Ambassadour *Fabius Maximus*, with two tables, the one containing peace, the other warres, putting the election to their owne choice, as it is liked themselves to choose, although the Romanes themselves, could best defend their cause. But did the Romanes  
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game this glory by enuring themselves to live in delicate idleness, in dicing, in carding, in dancing, in whoring, in banquetting, in reuelling, and in roysting: no, but ordained most sharp and bitter punishments to expell them, and with disgrace to dant those that were the practisers and followers of them.

Where contrarily, to prouoke and pricke forward Martiall mindes, and manly wights, to the studie of chivalry and Martiall affaires, they ordained glorious triumphs, liberal rewards and honourable titles: which was the very cause that the citie grew to be so great, and large in Empire: for where valiance and prowesse was so honourably rewarded, not onely Noble men, but also inferiour persons were so inflamed with desire of renowne, that no danger was left vndealt withall, nor no perill left vnproued, where there was glory to be gained, or the sattie of their countrie might be preferred.

The two *Decii*, by race and birth were no gentlemen borne yet by their valiance and fortitude, they aspired to the highest type of dignitie in their commonwealth, and in their countries defence, consecrated themselves, as valiant and vowed vessells, to glory and immortalitie.

Neither was *Lucius Marcius*, borne but of a meane parentage, yet for his puissance shewed in *Spain*, he receiued of his countrie great honour and principalitie.

By these meanes, the libertie of their countries were most strongly defended, and the indifferencie of their lawes were chiefly maintained, where well doing is so liberally rewarded.

For what greater dishonor may there be in a commonwealth then where worthy acts & high attempts receiue but cold reward? Or what reward, may that country thinke to much to bestow on him that hath not spared his own life to fight in the defence.

There be sundry examples in the holy Scripture, tending to the same effect, for when the children of Israel were pursued by *Pharaoh*, and they began to stagger in the promises of God: the tribe of *Issachar* did manifestly shew forth, farre greater courage and valiance then the rest, who lingred not nor drew backe,

backe, but with a maruellous constancie, by the example of *Moses* aduentured first the sea, by whose stout stomaches the rest were encouraged to follow: For which fact, the people of *Juda* were euer afterwards more honoured then the rest, and such had the principalitie amongst the twelue tribes, as were descended of the tribe of *Juda*.

In like manner, *Solomon* made the *Hethites*, the *Amorites*, the *Pheresites*, the *Heuities* and the *Iebusites*, to become tributaries, and to labour in the building: but of the children of *Israel*, he made men of warre, captaines, great Lords, and rulers.

And *Socrates* in a certaine fable vseth these words: *All you that liue in one cuttie, are brethreu, being streightly linked and vnited to gether: but when God created you, he gaue not euery one a like propertie, for they that were most meete to rule, he tempered with gold: and those that in defence of their countrie would valiantly assist Kings and Princes, he mingled them with siluer: and so such as should apply themselves to tillage and other meane occupations, he bestowed brasse and iron: now it falleth out generally that they ingender children like to themselves: but sometimes it happeneth a golden father to haue a siluer sonne. He willeth therefore, that they should take in no one thing, more speciall regard, then diligently to search, with what mettall their childrens mindes bee tempered with, so that if there bee found any brasse or iron in their childrens senses, they should assigne them such a trade conuenient, and agreeing with their grosse and rude nature: but if they finde in them any gold or siluer, they should bestow on them honourable roomes, and that they should be trained up in the knowledge of Martiall affaires.*

The *Romans* ordained for that purpose, a long spacious field, which they called, *Campus Martius*, wherein the youth of the citie was exercised in Martiall seates, and to enure their bodies, both for their owne health, and also that they might be made the more profitable members for their common wealth in the time of warres.

The *Lacedemonians* vsed their children to goe barefooted,  
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exercising them in running, in leaping, and in casting the dart, in which exercises they were continually practised: from whence *Diogenes* on a time returning, and going to *Athens*, was asked from whence he came, and whither he would: I come (said he) from amongst men, and am going among women.

I wonder if *Diogenes* were now liuing, and going into England, whither he would say he were going, if he were demanded: where we be wholly nuffed in wantonnesse, and onely nourished in daintinesse, both in minde, manners, and diet: where we be altogether made strangers to Martiall actions, and viterly alienated from Lawes and deedes of Armes, where no consideration is had of Martiall mindes, where prouision for defence is neuer called in question.

Here peraduenture some will say vnto me, Good sir, if you would but put on your spectacles, and looke into the Tower of London, you might see that neither Ordnance, shot, powder, pike, caliner, armour, nor any other furnitures conuenient for the Warres were any whit lacking: from thence, if it pleased you but to sayle downe in Grauesend Barge, you haue but siue miles to Rochester, where you might likewise take the view of so worthy a Fleete of royall ships, as no Prince in *Europe* may make comparison with the like. Call you not these prouisions of defence, where no munitions fit for the warres are any whit wanting?

Very true indeede, which doth argue the speciall care his Maiesty hath euer had, not onely in making of such prouision, but also at sundry times, he hath likewise instituted diuers good ordinances for the training of men, the which hath beene still discontinued by his subiects, such as will pine at the spending of one pound of powder, towards the practising of those that should fight for their safety.

Wherefore I neede vse no other answere, then King *Philip* vsed to that noble Captaine *Antipater*, which was this.

What searest thou man, any Captaine of *Athens*? Their Gallies and their Peeres are but trifles and toys vnto me: For a har account is to be made of those fellowses that giue themselves to dauncing, hoyting, banquetting, and to bellie cheare? that if  
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*Demosthenes onely were not amongst them, I would sooner get Athens then Thebes or Thessaly, &c.* So, to what effect serue all these warrelike furnitures, where there are no men experienced to vse them; and where men be trained onely in pleasure, how apt be they to endure the perplexities of warre: and how hardly are they fashioned to the vse of weapons, that neuer haue had any exercise in them, and with what difficultie are they prepared to the field, when they haue neuer beene accustomed to march.

But I haue heard many say, that souldiers may well be trained in one moneth, and made fit for the warres, and indeed I I am of this opinion, that he that in one moneth will not learne the vse of his weapon, whereto he shall be sorted, and to learn to march in order of array, being thoroughly instructed by a diligent and painfull Captaine, I am fully resolu'd, that that man will neuer make good souldier. But as our souldiers in *England* are accustomedly leuied, a Captaine shall haue much to do to make a great part of them for euer being souldiers at all.

But admit, that Souldies may be trained and made ready in a moneth, yet during that space, our enemies would commit greater spoiles vpon vs, then we should be able to recouer againe in fixe weekes after.

Moreouer in the day seruice, I had rather haue one thousand such as haue already seene & skirmished with the enemy, then foure thousand of such hallic mad souldiers, that are but trained vpon, as it were at a Midsummer sight, or at the fetching home of a Maypole. For prooffe hereof, I could shew many examples, but it were but in vaine, considering there is no man of reason but will conceiue it to be true: and such as haue experience will confesse I am nothing deceiued in my opinion.

And to say the truth, if in England wee should haue need to vse any reasonable number, there would hardly be found conductors, such as be sufficient in deede for the training of them.

For Gentlemen that are descended of honourable families in these daies, giue themselues rather to become *Battalus* knights then

then Martiall wights, and haue greater desire to be practised in Carpet trade, then in that kinde of vertue, which extendeth it selfe to the common profit, and preseruatiō of the Country.

And I cannot but maruel, what moueth so many men to make such great account of their gentility, that they thinke themselves worthy of such honour and estimation : and yet haue no regard to the renowne or preeminence, that is annexed vnto it : for (as Cicero saith) *Truely, the best inheritance that Fathers leaue to their Children, and more Worthy then all aliue, is the glory of vertue, and Worthy deedes, Whereunto to be a stain, it is to be accounted both vice and shame.*

But what reputation bring they to their Houses, that licentiouslly in riot come to and fro, not knowing in what fashion to disguise themselves, what countenance they should beare in the streetes, nor with what curiositly they should giue intertainment, furnished with three or foure *French, Italian, or Spanish words*, thinking that the whole glory consisted in being newfangled in their apparell, strange in their conceits, and as dainty in their diets, as Dame Folly her selfe, when shee is going of her first childe. To be short, in *England* Gentlemen haue robbed our Women of their mindes, and our Women haue bereaued vs of halfe our apparell.

Where Gentlemen ought rather to indeauour themselves to such exercises of vertuous acts, whereby they might giue such cleare light, and purchase true fame to their posterity, according as their predecessors haue left vnto them, of which they themselves doe so mightily boast of: and especially, to giue themselves to such exercises, wherein labour prepareth the body to hardinesse, and the minde to couragiousnesse, neither suffering the one to be marred with tendernesse, nor the other to be hurt with idlenesse.

As we reade of *Sardinapalus*, who was scorned as an effeminate King, who chooseth rather to sit and spinne amongst Women, then to learne to wield weapons : against whom, when *Belochas* and *Arbaces* made insurrection, he fled, and durst not shew himselfe in the field.

*Xenophon* maketh mention how *Hercules* being but a young man, musing whereunto he might apply his noble minde, there appeared vnto him two goodly young women, the one very gorgeous and braue: with ringes on her fingers, a chaine about her neck, her haire set and frizeled, with pearles and diamonds in her eares: the other sober in her cheere, comely in her apparell, modest in her behauiour, shamefast in her countenance. The first said: *Hercules*, if thou wilt serue me, thou shalt haue gold and siluer inough, thou shalt feede daintily, thou shalt liue Princely, thou shalt enioy pleasures, imbrace delights, possesse mirth. In fine, thou shalt haue all things to thine owne contentation, that appertaine to ease, rest and quietnesse. Then spake the other with demure countenance: if thou wilt serue me, *Hercules*, thou shalt be a Victor of Conquerours, thou shalt subdue kingdoms, and ouerthrow Kings, thou shalt be aduanced vnto fame, renowned in the world, & shalt deserue praise both of man and woman. *Hercules* perceiuing the idle seruice of the first, and the fame and renowme that was to be gayned by the second, chose her for his mistris: & I thinke sent the other into England, where at this present she is duetifully serued. But I thinke the very occasion why many do not indeauour themselves to practise to be souldiours now in England, is because they see those few that be there already to thriue so illtaouredly by their occupation, that they rather seeke to indeauour themselves where there is either pleasure or profit to be gayned, which is not in Souldiour fare, and therefore makes them to become Courtiers, Lawyers, or Louers. The Court, I confesse, is a place requisite for Gentlemen to know, so their mindes might not be seduced with the vanities thereof, whereby they should be inticed; nor to follow other exercises, tending more to their honor & estimation: and forsake those places, where greater glory is to be gained then any doth ordinarily attaine vnto, that consumes their dayes wholly in the Court: for he that fully frames himselfe to become a courtier, must likewise fraught his head so full of courting toyes, that there will be no roome left, to consider of matters appertaining more to his credit. For the most in number of our young courtly Gentlemen



clemen thinke that the greatest grace of courting, consisteth in proude and hautie counteuances to such as know them not, to be very faire spoken, bountifull and liberall in words to all men, to be curious in cauillirg, propounding captious questions, thereby to shew a singularity of their wisdomes: for the helping whereof, they diligently studie bookes for the purpose, as *Cornelius Agrippa de vanitate humanarum*, & other like: to seeme to talke of farre & straunge countries, of the maners of the people, of the fertilitie of soyles, & by the way of communication, able to dispute of all things, but in deed to know nothing, to apply their pleasant wits to scoffing, quipping, gybing, and taunting, whereby they may be accompted merry conceited gentlemen, and withall, they must learne to play the parasites, or else I can tell them, they will neuer learne to thriue. And in their apparell, they must be very nice & neat, with their ruffles finely set, a great bundle of feathers thrust into a cap, which must likewyse be of such a bignesse, that it shall be able to hold more wit then three of them haue in their heades.

They must be rash in their iudgements, curious in their conceits, they must be bold, saucie, and mallapert, which they themselves terme to be good audacity. They must be ready to espy euery mans faults, but not to see their owne folly. But what should I stand to deciphre the vanities of our courtiers, which are already so painted forth in their colours, and that by so many men, as I do but wast the time in vaine about them: I doe likewyse acknowledge, that the law is especially to be practised by Gentlemen. For as the law it selfe is most honourable amongst men: so those that should be practisers, professors, and ministers of the lawes, ought likewyse to be of credit and estimation.

But our Innes of court in these dayes are so furnished with Shomakess sonnes, Taylers sonnes, Inholders sonnes, Farmers sonnes, and almost there is not so meane a man, but his sonne must goe to the Innes of court: and they, when they haue gotten a litle law, because they will not mend shoes, and doe as their fathers haue done before them, there is no ho in their getting, no measure in their taking, no meane in their brybing, nor no reason in their extorting.

These be they, that by Law will peruert Law, and what one Law doth make, they will bring another Law shall marre. These be they that laugh, when other men mourne and that make themselves rich, by other mens foillies: and these be the onely men that bring Law and Lawyers into such Exclamations.

But of all other people that doe most surmount in vanities, are those that in such contagious passions, consume their time in loue, that as *Marcus Aurelius* doth affirme, he that doth once fall in loue with another, doth euen then beginne to hate himselfe.

It hath many times been had in question, from whence the fury of this malady should spring: but the greatest part doe conclude, that the originall thereof doth proceede of idlenesse.

Loue where it oncetaketh hold, it tormenteth the patients with such strange and bitter passions, that it reduceth reason into rage, pleasure into paine, quietnesse into carefullnesse, mirth into madnesse, neither maketh it any exceptions of persons, either old or young, rich or poore, weake or strong, foolish or discret, that as *Peter Bouaystuan*, a notable French Authour doth write, that if all the Louers that are in the World, were made in one whole Army, there is neither Emperour, nor Monarch, but would be amazed to see such a company of Bedlem fooles in a cluster.

But he that should take the view of their countenances, gestures, manners, furies, and all their franticke toyes, might confesse that he neuer saw a more strange Metamorphosis, or a spectacle more ridiculous to laugh at. If at any time they haue receiued a merry countenance of their beloued, good God, how gay shall you see them in their apparell, how chearefull in their countenance, how pleasant in their conceits, how merry in their moodes: then they bathe in brookes of blisse, they swimme in seas of ioy, they flow in floods of felicity, they houer all in happinesse, they lie in sweet delights, they banish all annoy.

Contrarily, if they receiue a lowring looke, then you shall see them drowned in dumps, they plead with piteous plaints, they cry with continuall clamours, they forge, they faine, they flatter, they



they lie, they for sweare, otherwhiles falling into desperate moodes, that they spare not to blaspheme the Gods, to curse the Heauens, to blame the Planets, to raile on the destinies, to cry out vpon the surier, to forge hell, to counterfet *Sisiphus*, to play *Tantalus*, to faine *Titius*, to grone with *Prometheus*, to burne the Winter, to freeze the Summer, to loath the night, to hate the day, with a thousand other such superstitious follies, too long for me to rehearse.

Now if he be learned, and that he be able to write a verse, then his Pen must ply to paint his Mistresse praise, shee must then be a *Pallas* for her wit, a *Diana* for her chastity, a *Venus* for her face, then shee shall be praised by proportion: first her Haires are wires of gold, her Cheekes are made of Lillies, and red Roses, her Browes be Arches, her Eyes Saphires, her looks lightnings, her mouth Corall, her teeth Pearles, her paps Alabaster balles, her body streight, her belly soft, from thence downward to her knees, I thinke is made of Sugar Candy, her armes, her hands, her fingers, her legges, her feete, and all the rest of her body shall be so perfect, and so pure, that of my conscience, the worst part they will leaue in her, shall be her soule.

But what neede I heape vp so many words in this matter? My Pen hath not the power to paint their doting deuises: neither doe I minde otherwise then to wish, that Gentlemen should set aside all such trifling affaires, and vaine follies, and to shake off those delightfull desires, and rather to indeuour themselves to such exercises, which haue gained *Hercules*, *Achilles*, *Thesens*, *Cains Marins*, *Epaminondas*, *Themistocles*, *Alexander*, *Pyrrhus*, *Hannibal*, *Scipio*, *Pompey*, *Caesar*, with diuers others, such immortal glory, as neither the enuious rage of cruell death may blemish, neither the furious force of Fortunes fickle wheele may diminish, neither the tract of deuouring time shall euer be able to remoue from memory. And I would to God, that while time doth yet serue vs in *England*, that such care might be had for the training and practising of men, that we should not be found altogether so carelesse, that to satisfie all our voluptuous pleasures, we neuer consider the preferuation of our Country and Com-

mon wealth. So likewise, if it be not altogether too late, as I feare me it is, I would wish that another thing were looked vnto, and that very narrowly, wherein we haue made such a rodde for our owne tayles, as there is no question, but in the end it must of force fall out to be our owne scourge. And this it is: We had in *England* so great a benefit, as it might haue beene vsed, as no other Countrey inuironing about vs, is possessed with the like, which is the casting of yron Ordnance: but as the prouerbe is, that euery commodity bringeth his discommodity, so this commodity bringeth vs double discommodity. First in the casting, it consumeth vs our woods and timber, in such sort, that one of the first things that *England* shall want, will be of timber for ships, which is all made hauocke on, onely about those yron mills. In the end comes M. Merchant, who cares not (for his owne priuate gaine) what mischief he worketh to his Countrey: or sometimes some olde bruised souldier, that hath serued the Queene in her warres, about *London*, *Lambeth* Marshes, or the out Isles of *Islington*, all the dayes of his life, and in respect of his good seruice, must get a cõmission to sell two or three hundred pieces of this yron Ordnance out of the Realme, that between M. Merchant and him, I dare vndertake, there is thrice as much Ordnance sold out of the Realme, as is within the Realme, and that some of our Merchants haue felt. For *John* the Frenchman hath been at Host with some of their ships, and *Dauy Drunkard* of *Flushing*, and his fellows, haue not been behind: and these with other mo, were not able to goe so strongly to the Sea, were it not that they were furnished with our English Ordnance. The Spaniards and Portugals haue some pretty store of it. In *France* there is *Rochel*, *Rosco*, *S. Mallois*, and *Deepe*, their ships be generally as well furnished with our Ordnance, as any Merchants ships in the *Thames*. The mighty Hound of *Dankerke*, and the rest of the Beagles that were of her consorts, God knowes, had beene able to haue made but a slender cry, when they had come to chase, had it not bene for our English barkers. The other parts of *Flanders*, *Zeland*, and *Holland*, both vpon the wallles of their Townes, and also in their shipping, are furnisht with the like. I haue scene euery streete in *Flushing*, lye as full of  
English

English Ordnance, as if it had beene the Tower Wharfe of London. To be short, there are diuers Townes in East *Freeland*, with *Emden*, *Hambrough*, *Denmarke*, *Danske*, *Lubecke*, *Rye*, *Renell*, *Swethen*, with diuers other Cities and Townes of those East parts, that she is but a very meane Hulke, appertaining to any of these places, which hath lesse then a dozen or sixteene peeces of our English Ordnance in her.

Such hath beene the carelesnesse of this our peaceable time, that it hath not onely made vs weake, by our owne neglecting the feates of armes: but also with our owne artillerie, and our warrelike munitions, we haue made such strong as be our enemies, as I feare we shall finde, if they were at quietnes amongst themselves.

And thus once againe I can wish, that such consideration might be had of the time that is present, as in the time that is to come, we should not haue cause to rue it.

And here although I know my skill will not serue me, nor my occasion at this time may well permit me, to speake of Martall discipline, how farre it is decayed from the first ordinance and institution, yet gentle Reader, not doubting but thou wilt beare with me, as well for the want of the one, as for the necessitie of the other, I will aduenture to speake some thing thereon.

We doe find in holy Scriptures, and that in seuerall places, both in the bookes of *Moses*, in the booke of *Iosua* and others where they haue vsed no litle regard as well in chusing of their captaines, leaders, and conductors, as also in their prescribing lawes, and disciplines of warre, which were many times appointed by the almighty God himselfe.

But let vs peruse the examples of the *Romans*, which of all other people did most exceed, as well for the greatnes of their glory, as in all their other martiall actions, and we shall find that they had not only consideration to the equitie of their cause, for the which they would enter into wars (as by these words of *Tully*, in his 1. book of *Offices* may better appeare: And the iustice of warre is most sincerely described in the *Phesalt Law* of the people

people of Rome, whereby for things in claime, is moued, or else proclaimed before, and bidden by defiance, &c.) But also they had as great regard to maintaine their quarrels, with like equitie and iustice, not suffering their captaines to enter into actions of treason or trecherie, where their wars were al together arreared vpon causes of honestie, as by examples they did plainly shew.

When king *Pyrrhus*, vnprouoked had moued wars against the *Romans*, and *Timochares* whose sonne was yecoman for the mouth to the king, promised to *Fabricius* then being Consull, to slay king *Pyrrhus*, which thing being reported to the Senat, they presently warned king *Pyrrhus* to beware of such treasons, saying, The *Romans* maintained their warres with armes and not by treason or trechery.

Likewise, when *Lucius Pius* in a banquet that he made, had filled the people of *Samaria* full of wine, and made them so drunke, that yeelded themselves subiect to *Rome*, for which exploit *Lucius Pius* at his returne required triumph. But the Senators vnderstanding the manner of his fact, caused him openly to be beheaded, and a slanderous Epitaph set vpon his graue. Neither would they suffer that souldier, which amongst other being taken by *Hannibal*, and licenced vpon his oath to deprrt, conditionally that he should either make returne, or else send his ransome, the souldier with others of his companions, being departed the campe of *Hannibal*, and licenced vpon his oath to depart, conditionally that he should either make returne, or else send his ransome; the souldier with others of his companions, being departed the campe of *Hannibal*, feigned an arrand back againe for something that he had forgotten, and thus comming to *Rome*, did thinke himselfe discharged of his oath: but the Senate allowing of no such deceit to be vsed, made a decree that the same Souldier should be carried pinioned to *Hannibal*. And ten other, that in like manner were dismissed by *Hannibal*, vpon their oth were seised at a yeerely fine, as long as any of them did liue for being forsworne. So nobly were the *Romans* disposed, and so honourably minded, that no act was allowed of amongst them, seemed it neuer so profitable, wherein was found  
either

either fraude or deceit. And this magnificence, gave them con-  
 digne commendations of their very enemies, and betweene  
 whom there had beene mortall hostilitie, and many times was  
 of greater effect to subdue them, then huge or mighty armies.  
 And as they did excell in the excellency of these vertues, iustice  
 and equity, to such as were able to stand in armes against them:  
 so likewyse they did surmount in humanity and cōtesie, and  
 in ministring of comfort, to such as they had already vanqui-  
 shed and subdued, as by no example may be better expressed,  
 then, by a letter written by *Marcus Aurelius* Emperour of  
*Rome*, to *Popilio*, captaine of the *Parthies*, a notable discourse  
 for captaines to peruse, and foloweth in this manner. I cannot  
 denie the glory I haue gained by this battell, neither may I hide the  
 perplexitie I feele for thy present misfortune: for noble mindes  
 are bound to shew no lesse compassion, to such as are subdued, then  
 to expresse ioy and gladnesse with those that are victors. Thou  
 being the chiefe of the *Parthies*, didest shew great courage to re-  
 sist, and in me the leader of the *Romanes*, was found no want  
 of force to fight: notwithstanding, though thou lost the battell, and  
 I remaine possessed of the victory, yet as I know, that thou wilt not  
 acknowledge this chance to happen for any want of stomach in thee,  
 so it belongs to my grauity not to attribute it altogether to the great-  
 nesse of my vertue, sithens God doth alwaies minister victories, not  
 to such as doe their duties best, but to those that he loueth most: for  
 the effect of all things depending upon God, man can haue no power  
 to command the destiny of a battell, seeing he is not able to stay the  
 course of the least planet in Heauen. *Darius* against *Alexander*,  
*Pomprius Caesar*, *Hanniball* against *Scipio*, had aboue all equality  
 farre greater Armies then their enemies, by which thou hast reason  
 to conclude With me, that against the anger of the soueraigne God,  
 cannot preuaile most huge and mighty Hosts. I maruell *Popilio*,  
 that being great in birth, valiant of stomach, welthy in goods, and  
 mighty in estate and dignity, why thou bearest with such sorrow,  
 the losse of this battell, seeing that in no worldly things Fortune is  
 more uncertaine and variable, then in the action of Warre. It is  
 tolde me, thou drawest to solitary corners, and seekest out shaded  
 H places,

places, thou eschewest the conuersation of men, and complaineſt of the gods, Which extreame perplexities ſince thou wert not wont to ſuffer in others, much leſſe oughteſt thou to giue place in thy ſelfe: For that the valiant man loſeth no reputation, for that Fortune faileth him, but is the leſſe eſteemed of, if he want diſcretion to beare her mutability.

To aſſemble great Armies, is the office of Princes, to leaue huge treasures, belongs to ſoueraigne Magiſtrates, to ſtrike the enemy is the part of a courageous Captaine: but to ſuffer infirmities, and to diſſemble miſhaps, is a property duely annexed to noble and reſolute mindes. ſo that one of the greateſt vertues that worldly men can expreſſe, in the common behauiour of this life, is neither to riſe proud by proſperity, nor to fall into deſpaire by aduerſity. For Fortune hauing a freewill, to come and goe when ſhee liſt: the Wiſe man ought not to be ſorry to loſe her, nor reioyce to hold her. Such as in their miſery ſhew heauy countenance, doe well proue, that they made account to be alwayes in proſperity, Which is a great folly to thinke, and no leſſe ſimplicity to hope for: Seeing the gifts and graces of Fortune haue no better thing more certaine in them, then to be for the moſt part, in all things moſt vncertaine, according to the ſucceſſe of the day, wherein thou gaueſt no battell: for there thou orderedſt thy Campe according to a wiſe Captaine, madeſt choyce of the place, in great policie: tookeſt aduantage of the Sunne, as a leader of long experience, in conſideration of Which things thou haſt cauſe to complaine againſt thy Fortune, which fauoured not thy vertue, and not blame thy diſcretion, wherein could be found no errour.

Conſider that in Wiſe and graue men, it is an Office, that if they cannot doe what they will, at the leaſt they yeeld to time, and are content with what they may. And as the verinons and valiant minde ought not to grieue for not obtaining that which hee would, but becauſe he deſired that which he ought not: ſo Popilio, I wiſh thee take heede, that the honour Which ſo many times thou haſt won, With the hazard of thy valiant perſon, in enterpriſes of Warre, be not loſt at this preſent, for Want of bearing well thy Fortune: aſſuring thee, that he beares his miſery beſt, that hides it moſt. And as of all valuable things, there is nothing more light then renowne:



so in cases of Warre and hazard, it is not enough for the valiant man to doe what he may, but also hee is bound to attempt nothing but what he ought: For as well the consideration as the execution of a fact, belongs duely to a discreet minde.

I heare thou Wandereſt here and there in great uncertainty of minde, fearing that if thou be taken of my Souldiers, thou shalt be euill intreated of me, which if no man haue told thee, it is against reason thou beleue it of thy selfe, because to vs Princes of Rome, it is familiar to shew our liberality to such as yeeld to vs, and with others that are our prisoners to communicate in great clemency. We raise armies against Campes proudly furnished, and Cities strongly walled, but to captiues in thy condition, wee hold it more honourable to minister comfort, then to adde increase of affliction. For as it sufficeth the valiant Captaine to fight against the enemy that resisteth him, and dissemble with him that flieth: so the wise man ought to require no more of his enemy, then that he acknowledge that he stands in feare of him, because to a daunted and timorous heart, is sildome left courage to renue an enterprife. And therefore a man takes greater reuenge, when he putteth his enemy to flight, then if he take his life from him. For the sword dispatcheth a man in a day, but feare and remorse torments the minde continually. And better it were to suffer without feare that which we expect in griefe and sorrow, then by feare to be alwayes in martyrdome. It is right terrible to flesh and bloud to die of a sword, but to be in perpetuall sorrow and disquiet of minde, is the very furie and torment of Hell.

If thou eschewest my presence, in feare that I will not vse pity to thee, thou art abused in the opinion of my disposition, and doſt wrong to the reputation and experience of my actions past. For I neuer refused to shew mercy to him that asked it, and much lesse deceiued him that put his trust in me. The doubt and feare that thus doe trauell thy minde, ought not to be so much of my person, as of the custome of Fortune, who useth not to vnloose her sharpe Arrows with better will against any then such, as thinke they bee in best securitie of her: her nature being such, as

not to meddle With those that ſhee finds prepared, the better to aſſure them, but followeth the fearefull and negligent, to the end to deceiue them: yea, ſhee preuaileth ouer the counſels and actions of men, and being exempt to make reckoning to any, her prerogatiue is to require account of all men. I aſſure thee Popilio, that more doe I feare the reuolution of fortune at this houre, then I doubted her before the battell. For ſhee delights not ſo much to keepe under the vanquiſhed, as to bridle and checke the victors. And worſe doth ſhee meane, when ſhee ſmiles the faireſt, then when ſhee frownes moſt. But to ſpeake on thy behalfe, I tell thee that without danger thou maiſt reſort to my preſence, ſince in thy ſtate is no cauſe of ſuſpition, and in my heart no malice to thy perſon: for indeede, that cannot be called true victory, which bringeth not with it ſome clemency. And therefore he cannot be called victorious, in whom reſteth intent of rigour and cruelty. For Alexander, Iulius, Auguſtus, Titus, and Traianus, won more renowne by the clemency they uſed to their enemies, then by all the victories they obtained in ſtrange regions. To obtaine a victory is a thing naturall and humane, but to giue pardon and life, is the gift and bleſſing of God. By which it comes to paſſe, that men feare not ſo much the greatneſſe of the immortall God, for the puniſhments he doth, as for the mercy he uſeth. Notwithſtanding as I cannot denie, but that great is the value and eſtimation, which we Romane Princes make of a victory won by battell: ſo alſo I aſſure thee, we hold it more honourable, to pardon ſuch as doe offend vs, then to chaſtiſe thoſe that doe reſiſt our power.

Therefore if thou ſlie from my preſence, as fearing the iuſtice which I haue executed vpon the Romanes, thou oughteſt to take ſecurity and courage euen in that which makes thee iealous and doubtfull: for ſo much greater ought to be clemency, by how much the offender is in fault. And therefore as there is no offence which cannot be either forgiven or fauoured, ſo right worthily may that pardon be called honourable and famous, which is giuen to an iniury malicious and manifeſt, ſince all other common and light wrongs with greater reaſon we may ſay we diſſemble them, then that wee pardon them.



The thing that most drawes me to enter friendship with thee, is for that in our first capitulations and truce, thou performedst all things that were concluded for the peace, and yet in the battell thou didst expresse the parts of a valiant Captaine, the same giuing me cause to beleue, that as in warre I found thee a iust enemy, so in the time of peace, thou wouldest proue an assured friend. Alexander neuer repented the pardon he gaue to Diomedes the tyrant, nor Marcus Antonius the fauour he shewed to the great Orator Cicero. Neither shall I haue cause (I hope) to forethinke the respite I giue to thy life. For the noble minde, albeit he may haue occasion to be sorry for the vnthankfulnessse of his friend: yet hath hee no licence to repent him of his good turnes done for him: and therefore in the case of liberality or clemency, by how much the person is unworthy that receiueth the benefite, by so much more hee is to be commended that bestoweth it: for that onely may be said is giuen, when he that giueth, giueth without respect.

So that hee that giueth in hope of recompence, deserueth not to be called liberall, but to pretend vsurie.

Thou knowest well that in the time of the battell, and when the encounter was most hot, I offered thee nothing worthy of reproach: euen so, thou hast now to iudge, that if in the fury of the warre, thou foundest me faithfull, and mercifull, I haue now no reason to exercise rigour, holding thee within the precinct of my house: so that if thou saw mercy in me at that instant, when thy hands were busie to spill my blood, thinke not that my clemency shall faile, calling thee to the fellowship of my Table.

The prisoners of thy Camp can assure thee of my dealing, amongst whom the hurt are cured at my charges, and the dead are buried according to the place of souldiers: wherein if I extend this care upon such as sought to spoile me, thinke there is farre greater plenty of grace, to thee that comest to serue me. And so leauing thee in the hands of thine owne counsell, I wish thee those felicities, which thy honourable heart desireth.

Loe here a mirrour, meete to be perused by Kings and Princes, wherein they may learne, with what consideration they should first enter into Warres, with what valiance and courage they

should prosecute them, and with what iustice, temperance and mercie they should vse their enemies.

Captaines may likewise learne how to vse fortune, either when she fauours, either when she frownes,

But leauing a great number of necessary lessons worthy to be noted, how is it possible in so few lines, more amply to describe the glory of the *Romanes*: neither are their vertues here so liuely painted forth in words, as they themselues did nobly shew it in their deedes.

But all other examples of humanity, amongst a great number vsed to their enemies, this in my opinion deserueth not the least commendation, that hauing taken *Siphax* King of *Numantia*, who being kept prisoner in the house of *Tiberius*, dyed of sicknesse before he was ransomed, notwithstanding now when there was no manner of hope of requitall, his funerall was yet performed, with such solemnity, such pompe, and such honour, such large giftes were giuen, and such liberality vsed, being but a *Romane* prisoner, as might haue wanted at *Numantia*, where he was Lord and King ouer all. I haue thus farre briefly, and in this short maner shewed some part of the magnificence of the *Romanes*, in their Martiall actions, whereby may be perceiued, how farre we be digressed, and how cleane we be degenerate at this present from their honorable institutions. For if we consider in these dayes the impiety that is found amongst Princes, which for the most part are so led by the furie of ambition, where they thinke they may oppresse, that without any other respect of cause they are ready to accompanie themselues, with a sort of bloody captaines, that should haue the leading of a company of as lewd & vngracious souldiers, and euen according to their quarrels and to the quality of their owne dispositions, they prosecute their warres, and performe all their enterprises, the which for the most part are executed with such treason and trecherie, as no Prince almost may be so surely garded, but his life shalbe finished with some deadly blow with a weapon, with some sodaine shot of a pistoll, or at the least practised with some secrete poison

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nether is there any town, that may be so surely walled, so strongly rāpered, or so thoroughly fortified which shall not be betraied.

For in our warres we be now come to this passe, that fraud and deceit is reputed for policy, and treason and trechery are called grauity and wisdom, and he is holden the noblest champion, that by any of these meanes can best deceiue: where, in the opinion of all men, which exactly do honor iustice, it hath euer bene condemned, and accompted most horrible. And no doubt it can not be acceptable in the sight and iudgement of God, who in the Scripture is called the God of trueth and verity: but rather proceedeth from the deuill, who is (indeede) the father of fraude, and the forger of all deceite.

And these enormities haue euer bene especially practised amongst those that haue arreared warres, rather to oppresse and rauish the goods of others, then amongst such as haue but defended their owne right, or entred into warres onely vpon causes of iustice and equity, for that it hath bene euer holden a matter most inconuenient, rather by subtilty to vndermine, then by force to conquer.

Now for the incitements to valour, there is no motiue more mighty to incite men to valour and courage, then when they shall call to minde the rightnes of theirs: the which doth animate and set an edge on their hearts, according to the opinion of *Cicero*, who affirmeth that manlinesse is well defended of the Stoicks, which is a vertue that is a Champion of equity, wherefore no man hath euer attained to the honour of fortitude, or get praise by policy. For nothing is deemed honest that is deuoyde of Iustice: he likewise maketh a further proceeding in the same place, reciting the saying of *Plato* to the same effect, that science not accompanied with conscience & knowledge disioyned from iustice, is rather subtilty then solid wisdom, & those enterprised which are vndertaken for our owne profit, and not the weale publick is more truly termed foolish hardinesse then famous valour.

*Aristotle* would by no meanes that *Diomedes* should bee reputed either wyse or valiant, for that when feare had made wings

wings for the Grecians heeles, and they were discomfited in fight, he still continued fight in the field, and adventured himselfe to incounter with *Hector*, with more audacity and courage, then vnderstanding and consideration, more respecting the babble of fame and vaine praise of men, the which though for a time it may seeme delightfull, yet is but of short continuance, when the safety of his soyle and commodity of his Countrey, the which is the scope of all vertuous actions, and an immortall glory.

In such sort he censured *Hector*, who many times casting vp his eyes to his wife, and other Women standing vpon the walles of Troy, would with greater courage and audacity adventure and hazard his life, onely to gaine fauour and reputation in the Womens opinions, and fearing least any rumour should be raised which might wound his credit, when otherwile hee would haue had a more respectiue care of his life: They are therefore farre remote from the renowne of true valour, which will so rashly runne vpon their owne ruines without any due considerate premeditation, for what auailed the audacity of *Varro* and *Flaminius*, two renowned Romane Captaines, who reiecting the prowesse, and contemning the craft of *Hannibal*, and vndervaluing the counsell of *Fabius*, firing the anchor of their hope in their owne hardinesse, endangered and ruined two noble armies, whereby the power of the Romanes lay a bleeding. and was almost vitterly perished: It is a common receiued opinion, that a man cannot attaine to the exact perfection of the meaneest occupation vnder seauen yeeres practise, and doth it stand with likelihood? nay, hath it almost any possibility, that the art of Warre should be so suddenly wonne, wherein there is alwayes a *Plus ultra*, and a furthermore. For they which haue all the course of their life beene followers of that course, and haue continued the faithfull men of *Mars*, they haue not proceeded so farre, but still they might goe one degree further, and haue beene to seeke in something: this was the matter which moued *Philip* to maruaile, that the Athenians did yeerely choose new Generals and Captaines of their warres, when hee in the whole course of his life

life had found one worthy of his approbation, which was *Parmenio*; *Plato* would not allow any man authoritie in *Mars* his employments, till he was thirty yeeres of age: and *Alexander* would admit none to the place of a commander vnder sixtie: finally by the generall consent and confirmation of al men, there ought not to be a slight or small respect vsed in the choice of Captaines. *Cicero* mentioneth foure things requisite in a ruler of the warres, to wit, Iustice, Fortitude, Policie and Temperance: First, Iustice to reuenge, Fortitude to put his intention in execution, Policy to prepare the way to leade him to his ends, and temperance to stay him in his fury, when he hath sufficiently discharged it vpon his enemies; and it is free from doubt, and certaine without suspicion, that a Captaine thus endowed with these vertues, shall be of no small preuailance in all his proiects, but they haue very little respect of any of these in the election of our English Souldiers, who are appointed according to master Constables command, and who if he hath taken a distast, and conceiued a displeasure against any in his circuit, cannot excogitate a better meanes to vent his reuenge, or thinke of a speedier course to oppresse him then to presse him forth to be a Souldier: but if he chance to be in charity with his neighbours, then doth he select some silly odde fellow that doth least good in the parish, as who should say, he cannot be too bad to be a Souldier, and for the most part they scour their prisons of theeves, and their streets of rogues and vagabonds when they are to set any Souldiers forth, so that they seeke such men for such employments as were better lost then found. These are the authors and fountaines from whence such abuses flow, and the causers of a Souldiers name to bee so odious to the vulgar and common people: and another discomfort hath birth from the pressing of such a ribble rabble, for in the warres they become mutiners, who ought to be punished with no small severity for infringing the institutions, and violating the orders of the generall Captaine, the which how distastfull it is to God, the punishments which God hath inflicted vpon such persons may sufficiently testifie in the

booke of Numbers it is recorded, that the earth opened and swallowed vp *Corath*, *Dathan* and *Abyram*, for mutining against *Moses*, an euident and apparant prooffe, how displeasing to the Almightye these kinde of infertions be, and that they are rebels to God that resist their Captaine.

*Manlius Torquatus* shewing more seuerity then affection, caused his owne naturall sonnes head to be moued from his body, because he remoued out of the place whereto he was appointed; notwithstanding hee went out of it to fight with an enemy, who had formerly challenged him. And *Salust* doth report that there were more souldiers suffered for assaulting there enemies before they had command from the Captaine, then for running out of the field before the combat, who were very seuerely in inflicting heauy punishments on such like offenders, and to the end that they might the better subiect Souldiers to their discipline, adioyned to their owne Lawes the authority of God, and were accustomed with great ceremonies solemnly to sweare them to obserue their ordinances. *Cicero* recordeth how *Pompilius* when he was generall of the Romans in the Persian warres, had discharged one legion in which *Cato* sonne had serued for a Souldier, who although he was discharged, yet still continued there, being desirous to see the warres, which *Cato* vnderstanding, did write to *Pompilius* that he should not permit or suffer his son to remain or abide in the army, vnlesse he did sweare him Souldier againe, because otherwise it was vnlawfull for him to fight with the enemy, for being freed from his former oath, hee was likewise discharged from being a Souldier: it was a generall custome amongst the Grecians to sweare there Souldiers being armed and brought to Church in this manner. I will not doe any thing vnworthy the sacred holy warres, neither will I relinquish or forsake my Captaine to whom I am appointed; I will not be the causer of my cuntryes illfare, but I will to the vttermost bounds of my abilitie and limits of my power indeauour that it may reape all possible benefits by my seruice, and I will continually frame and fashion my selfe to the obedience and obser.



obseruance of such orders, as are now or shall be hereafter determined by the state. Moreouer as I will neglect them my selfe so farre as I am able force others to keepe them. I will perpetually maintayne and retayne the religion of my country, the which my promises I call the Gods to record and witnesse: the which custome if it were now obserued and put in execution amongst souldiours in our times, it could not but be a meanes to secure their Generall and gouernour, incite them to the vndertaking of all worthy enterprises, be an Antidote and preseruation agaynst such treacheries as are dayly practised, and would in like manner gaine credit and reputation to their profession.

All which things are manifested in that true mirror of true worth Count *Mansfield*: who as he hath kept their seruice free from mutiny seuerely, so he hath rewarded his souldiours bountifully, which hath so animated them, and giuen them life in all their proceedings, that they haue with matchlesse courage performed all their enterprises: And *Mansfield* the generall of there army, hath had no lesse then generall applaus: who to his eternall memory and neuer dying fame, hath enlarged his owne renowme, made an addition, especially to his reputation by being constant to the King of *Bohemia*, and a most worthy maintainer of the Gospell of Christ: of whose worthy actions if I should indeauour to make a particular discourse, it would farre exceed the power of my pen: and I am affraid, I should wrong him in the relation: and I feare, in this more lasciuious then laborious age, he will scarce attayne to the happinesse of *Achilles* to haue a second *Homer*, to trumpet forth the truth of his worth, who hath all the vertues lodged in his brest, that can be imagined to be relident in a Prince or souldiers bosome: For as he hath couragious valour, denying to permit him to carry coales or suffer excesse of iniury, so he hath a measure of honest policy to performe what he proiecteth, and least there might be any defect in him vnderferuing the name of a Captaine, or a Commaunder, like a second *Demosthenes*, he is so well furnished with perswasive oratory, that the soules of his souldiours

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in time of his exhortation to him, seem: onely to be placed in their eares, and his very breath is a wynde to blow, (as I may so say) the coales of their courage and to accend their fury: For at what time as he obtained the famous victory agaynst *Leopoldus* before *Huguenae*, he moued his souldiours in a well composed speech, to behaue themselves boldly and with courage, and to make a full expreffion of their valour, since that they were to haue such a noble compaign in combat as the King of *Bohemia*, who was royally resolu'd to pursue his foes in person.

I neede not therefore seeke farre for a Commaunder, whose example may serue for euery captaines instruction, who as he should looke for duety from them in his seruice, so should afford them meanes whereby they may liue (as they are to be truly considered) professors of a worthy calling: he should likewise encourage them with mouing speeches, incite them to valour and noble actions. To conclude, a true substantiall souldiour, and a gainefull generall, ought to be powerfull in men and meanes, politick in plotting meanes as well for the defence of himselfe as the offence of his enemy, royall in rewarding in the well-deseruing, eloquent in perswading his men to prowesse: So shall the warres be more prosperous, the souldiours more respected, and a happy successe shall crowne all Marshallists earnest indeauours.

FINIS.